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SIR THOMAS RALEIGH

AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

AND

ANNALS OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

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ANNALS OF
THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

BY

SIR THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I.

TOGETHER WITH

HIS OWN AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES AND SOME

REMINISCENCES BY

SIR HARRY R. REICHEL

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AUTOBIOGRAPHICAL NOTES

BY

SIR THOMAS RALEIGH, K.C.S.I.

Along with the typescript of the *Annals of the Church in Scotland* there was found among Sir Thomas Raleigh's papers after his death a note-book in his own handwriting, marked 'Autobiographical Notes', and it is thought that the substance of these Notes will make a suitable introduction to the present volume. The first part of the Notes deals with the writer's ancestry, and for the sake of brevity is omitted. It may be stated, however, that the branch of the Raleigh family to which Sir Thomas belonged came originally from England, but had long been settled in Galloway. Sir Thomas Raleigh's father, Samuel Raleigh, chose the law as his profession and started business in Edinburgh. Having a great capacity for finance, however, he became a Chartered Accountant, and finally Manager of the Scottish Widows' Fund, which under his able guidance developed into one of the best-known Insurance Offices in the world. After the preliminary part of the Notes the writer proceeds as follows :

From my ancestors I inherit a good constitution, very short sight, a strong memory, a tongue quick when started, but slow to start, and a kindly but solitary temper. What I have made, or failed to make, of this inheritance, the following record will show.

Childhood. I was born 2 December 1850, at Jordan Bank, Morningside, in a small suburban house to which my parents had removed for reasons of economy. Dr. Candlish baptized me ; after the ceremony he spoke of me as Thomas, but my mother decreed that I should be Tom, and so I am. I was born tongue-tied ; the ligament was cut, to enable me to cry, but my liberty was not abused. I was healthy and placid, the only merits to which a small infant can pretend.

We moved to a house in Grange Road. There I remember playing with my elder sister, Katie. She had a set of coffee-cups, &c., made in wood, out of which we drank imaginary coffee. She died 10 February 1854. The servants told me the angels had come for her; I stole away and went upstairs on hands and knees in the dark, to see them. Peeping in at a door, I saw the little body on a bed, and something like wings (no doubt the curtains, between me and the light). I descended the stair very quickly, going backwards on hands and knees, my heart beating loud, and was glad to find myself among the living again.

At the Grange I learned to read: do not remember having any difficulties. On my fifth birthday I received a Bible, and was able to read a chapter in Isaiah. The *Illustrated London News* gave us pictures of the Crimean War: we were deeply interested, but did not know 'what it was about'. Some elder people were in the same state of mind.

In 1856 we moved to a town house in Northumberland Street, and I went to Mr. Henderson's school in India Street. Girls and boys were taught together, but we sat on separate forms. We regarded 'co-education' as a badge of inferiority, and looked forward to going to a real boys' school, where there should be no girls. We learned the three R's, the Shorter Catechism, and metrical Psalms, also dancing, which I abhorred. Some attempt was made to teach me the piano, but my short sight prevented me from reading the notes, and I was excused on the ground of incapacity.

In the summer we were in the country—Broughton F. C. Manse, '57; Ratho, '58; Livingstone, '59; Moffat, '60 (my little sister Mary died there 23 September).

In the summer of '59 my mother and I went by way of Carlisle and Bristol to Devonport to see Aunt Jane. Her stepson, Charles Davey, junior, piloted me round the fortifications, &c. We went out to catch pilchard and mullet, and I remember being very sick when we got beyond the breakwater. Charles Davey, senior, took us on one of his business tours through Cornwall. The children followed me in crowds at Liskeard, &c., on account of my kilt. We saw copper mines

and other new sights. At —— on the eve of May-day we saw what some allege to be a survival of sun-worship—the blazing tar-barrel landed on the quay, and boys running to light their torches of tarred rope at this central flame.

In 1860 I went to the Edinburgh Institution : Dr. Ferguson and Mr. Bickerton were the chief masters : Mr. Maclachlan for Latin, M. Kunz for French. It was a good school, but the Edinburgh Academy was supposed to be of a higher social rank, so I went there in '62, taking my seat at the bottom of a class of 94. Our class-master, Henry Weir, a Berwickshire and Cambridge man, was a vigorous teacher : he did little to enliven our Latin and Greek, but his keen enjoyment of Burns and Scott set us on reading for pleasure. In my fourteenth year I read all the Waverley Novels. They were to be found in the library of Robert Dymock, Procurator Fiscal, a cousin of my mother's and a kind friend of children.

Dr. Gloag, the mathematical master of the Academy, was about eighty, and fell asleep in class. Maclean, the writing master, was a good-natured man who put on the airs of a ferocious tyrant. Macleod, otherwise ' Frenchie ', amused our rough Scotch minds by his extreme politeness : he was given to telling long stories, but a good teacher. From the first the French language attracted me very much : I shocked my schoolfellows by trying to pronounce it ' like Frenchie ', whereas they preserved their dignity by pronouncing it like Scotch. German was rather perfunctory, until we got a German master, Meyerowicz, a Pole. He was always remarking on our want of manners, and probably with much justice. Once, at my instigation, the whole class attended Mr. Meyerowicz in white gloves, borrowed from our mothers and sisters. This was meant for sarcasm.

In 1864 I passed to the ' Rector's Class ', and came under the immediate rule of Dr. Hodson, a brother of Major Hodson, and in some points not unlike that celebrated officer : we all quailed under the glance of his cold blue eye. He was a Balliol man, a good scholar in the Oxford sense of the word, and a disciplinarian.

Three years more brought me to the end of my school days :

in July '67 I was ' Dux ' of the school, and carried home medals and books.

Looking back, I feel how difficult it must be to teach more than the rudiments of anything in a school. Where boys are grouped in classes, the slow are discouraged, and the merely clever boy is praised without deserving it. My good memory brought me to the top of my class, but I was content with being there and never had occasion to acquire the habit of hard work.

August '67 we were at Easter Duddingston, where my sister Mabel was born. Geo. Thomson baptized her, and then he and my father, my uncle Aleck and I went for a tour in the Highlands. My father was attired in a rather ' kenspeckle ' brown suit, and he insisted on my having one of the same pattern, so we were easily known for father and son.

During my Academy days we lived at 30 George Square. The old Square was then pretty much what it was when Walter Scott was a boy at No. 25, going daily to the High School. The garden was rather roughly kept with shrubberies, in which we could remain concealed from the authorities. Among the residents were Robert Dymock aforesaid ; his brother James, grocer and elder of the Church ; Lawson, a seedsman, who had his year of glory as Lord Provost of the City ; and George Barbour of Bonskeid, a wealthy man, and a leader in all Evangelical enterprises. His wife was the author of many little books—much feared by young people because of her habit of ' dealing closely ' with us about our souls, but in reality a woman of true human kindness, and much talent.

We lived a long way from the school, and I was thus led to neglect cricket and football. My short sight was against me in all such things, and at sixteen I was still small and not strong for my age.

In '61 and '62 we were at Auchencairn, and made acquaintance with my father's beloved Galloway. '63 and '64 St. Andrews and golf.

At this stage of my life I came more than once under religious impressions, but they were of a passing and superficial kind. My father was not fond of talking about such matters ; he went on the assumption that we knew what was right and might be

left to do it. In point of fact I did not know; I thought that religion consisted in going through a prescribed series of emotions, ending in Church membership, and assurance of salvation; and, as my moral nature was quite undeveloped, I could not summon up the emotion.

University Life. At sixteen I entered the University of Edinburgh and spent three winters in attending classes there. The Latin (Sellar), Greek (Blackie), and Mathematics (Kelland) were to me only a continuation of school, and I made no great advance in these subjects. But Natural Philosophy (Tait) gave me a host of new ideas, in spite of my slipshod attention. Robertson Smith was Tait's assistant, and I remember his exposition of the elements of Astronomy. Logic (Fraser) and Moral Philosophy (Calderwood) interested me much, but I did not appreciate the difficulties. Rhetoric and Belles Lettres (Masson) was a class by which I profited much. Masson was an enthusiast; his Milton lectures gave one an insight into English Literature, and in the Rhetoric part of his course he gave us excellent advice, somewhat on the lines of Dr. Abbott's book, *How to Write Clearly*. I never write anything of importance without remembering some good rule of Masson's. In Logic Robt. Glasgow Brown and I were bracketed first: in Moral Philosophy, Chas. Maclaren was first; —— was second; I was third. R. Adamson, who came fourth, knew more than the three of us put together.

My summers were spent thus—1868, Tübingen. John Sutherland Black (since Editor of the *Encyclopaedia Biblica*) was tutor in charge of Wm. Cunningham (subsequently an Archdeacon) and me. We learned German by attending lectures—Michaelis in Greek, Vischer in Aesthetic, Dr. Milner (an Englishman, father of Lord Milner that now is) in English. Also, we took part in students' gatherings where much beer was drunk, and we saw duels fought with the small sword and sabre. The life suited me well, and I grew rapidly, both in length and breadth. We returned home through Switzerland and France. Summer of 1869, College Hall, St. Andrews; the building is now occupied by St. Leonard's School for Girls. We played golf; I wrote what I imagined to be poetry. The summer of '70

I stayed at home, and went to Cosmo Innes's History lectures: he taught us mostly about Constitutions and made them interesting.

Among my fellow-students the best known was Robert Louis Stevenson, with whom I have spent many idle hours. He got me to write an article for the *Edinburgh University Magazine*. I wrote occasional letters to the *Scotsman* and the *Daily Review*, which were inserted, to my surprise and delight.

There were debating societies, two of which, the Diagnostic and the Union, I joined. At the mature age of sixteen I had joined the Literary Society of Free St. George's, and made a speech in defence of classical education, using the arguments I should use now. At the Union I encountered senior men such as Andrew Jameson and Charles Guthrie, who were already Advocates, or reading for the Bar.

John S. Mackay, a fifth cousin of ours who had become a master at the Academy, did something to improve my mathematics, and in walks with him I learned a good deal of things in general.

Of books which influenced me, I have cause to remember Mill's *Examination of Hamilton*, which gave me a new idea of the importance of philosophy. I read the New Testament, and for the first time had some historical insight into the meaning of it, but my historical reading, such as it was, gave me a bias against the miraculous, and I lost hold on hereditary and traditional views of religion.

Having no vocation for the ministry, I was destined for the English Bar, and Oxford was the first stage on the way. In November '70 I gained an open exhibition at Balliol and went into residence in January '71. A year and a half were given to 'Mods' work, scholarship in the narrower sense, which I ignorantly despised, and was rewarded for my ignorance by a Second Class. My tutors were John Purves, Paravicini, and R. Lewis Nettleship. I took essays pretty often to the Master, usually as one of a mixed party: one term my companions were H. Asquith (since Prime Minister), Gore (now a Bishop), Waddell (a Scotch exhibitioner who became an Inspector of Schools), and Mallock (author of the *New Republic*).

I took eagerly to the river, but did not distinguish myself, though I was in the winning Morison's Four. Also, old Maclaren and his Gymnasium added a few inches to the girth of my chest, and thereby made my whole future life more comfortable.

Our Master, Jowett, interested but did not attract me. His lectures were not impressive ; his sermons seemed to breathe mild scepticism ; in private life he was shy, and I was shy : there was no getting on. It was only at a later time that I was able to appreciate Jowett, and to understand his great influence in Oxford. With all his odd little ways, he always had a clear perception of what he wanted, and a tenacious purpose to get it. He cultivated his personal relations with old pupils and friends as if he were working at a business. His kindness was inexhaustible, and, where money was wanted, his generosity was unbounded. I am not sure if he was right in wishing to make Balliol a large college, but that was his wish and he did it.

After my comparative failure in ' Mods ', I partly redeemed myself by gaining the Lothian Prize for an Essay on the University of Paris. Tried for the Stanhope (' The Portuguese in the East ' was the subject), but was beaten by Flanagan (afterwards on *The Times*).

These were holiday tasks ; my work was to read for ' Greats ', the Final Classical School. Of the lecturers, T. H. Green had most influence : he brought what was sometimes called Hegelianism into fashion, but he was really an original thinker, with some assistance from Kant ; his main object being to correct the empiricism of the English philosophers (Locke, Berkeley, Hume) and to make us independent of J. S. Mill and Spencer. Green was a new Radical in politics, and a public-spirited man ; his pre-occupation was with moral questions, and he clung to the Christian Faith as a complete version of the best for which his spirit yearned. Unlike Oxford in some ways, he was an Oxford man in his love of a good phrase or epigram, and he made very good ones himself.

I never joined the Freemasons or any of the merely social clubs ; and therefore had but few friends in other Colleges. At the Oxford Union I began to make speeches of an elaborate and ambitious kind. I was Treasurer and then President in '75.

The senior men who spoke in those days included Copleston (since Bishop of Calcutta, whom I was to hear again in India); McClymont, a man of some genius, dreadfully pugnacious, who had a career, but a chequered career, at the Bar; James Cotton; Herbert Asquith, and his elder but less known brother Willans; Herbert Paul and Alfred Milner were among my own contemporaries. The Union was mainly Tory, and was therefore a good school of speaking for Balliol Radicals. Ashmead Bartlett beat H. Asquith in a Presidential election by 450 to 150. We talked a good deal of nonsense, all except H. Asquith, who spoke with the precocious infallibility of Mr. Pitt.

My name was in the First Class of June '75, and in the following October I entered the chambers of Arthur (later Sir Arthur) Kekewich.

Study of the Law. For eight years or so I lived in Mount Street, over H. Asquith and under H. Paul. The little tumble-down house has been turned into a block of flats: St. George's Workhouse is removed, and the Jesuit Chapel in Farm Street, which used to have a suitably mysterious approach, is now discovered to the light.

I joined the Savile Club in Savile Row, a dingy but comfortable house. Among the regular diners were Thorold Rogers, who was always roaring his opinions and claiming to be the inventor of any Radical scheme that was talked about; Saintsbury, then an overworked journalist and writer; Robert Louis Stevenson; Palmer, the Arabic scholar. Robertson Smith used to dine and drink Vesuvio, which he liked; it was too strong for me, but the Aberdonian brain could stand it.

Before joining a Club I injured my health by dining at inexpensive restaurants.

On Sundays I went to Kensington Chapel, where my uncle Alexander was minister. The church life there was hearty and sincere: the place did me good. Sunday afternoon I spent in reading aloud to my aunt and cousins: I read in this way all Milton and other writers worth knowing.

These were my occupations out of chambers. In the pupil room my five companions and I drafted pleadings and opinions, which our master tossed away or practically re-wrote. He

explained things in a breezy way, but we had no systematic introduction to law ; there were lectures, but it was the fashion to make light of them. I wished to learn, and laid in books like Fearne's *Contingent Remainders* to test my own capacity. But case-law depressed me : I found it so hard to attain to any definite result. Like Bentham, I tried to codify the law without knowing much about it. At twenty-five Grotius and Leibnitz were learned jurists ; at the same age I doubted my ability to argue the simplest case.

In October '76 Freshfields and Williams gave me a seat in their office, then at 5 Bank Buildings. There I was very happy to find that there was legal work of a subordinate nature which I could do fairly well. Henry Freshfield, the senior partner, gave me cases to analyse for him ; Medcalf, one of the managing clerks, allowed me to prepare the briefs in heavy cases, and to go with him to Watkin Williams or Bowen. In the City I saw the raw material of litigation, the actual merchants and ship-owners who brought their disputes into court. The junior articled clerks in our own and other offices taught me the resources of London in the way of luncheon-places, games, &c.

A few years in that office would not have been thrown away, but I was twenty-six and thought it was time to be called to the Bar. H. Cotton, Q. C. (afterwards Lord Justice) was to move my call, and he insisted on my leaving Freshfields before he would move. The examination for call was not serious ; I knew very little law, but passed it easily, and was called from Lincoln's Inn, 13 June '77.

All Souls. In October '75 I was a candidate for the All Souls Fellowship, and was beaten by R. E. Prothero. Stood also at Merton, where Mee and Wright were elected. In October '76 there was an examination for two Fellowships at All Souls : we had to do law and history, papers, translation from five languages, &c. My competitors were formidable, but in the end I was elected, and the second Fellowship was not awarded. With my usual want of *savoir faire*, I was too late in turning up after the election ; the Warden, Dr. Leighton, had left the College, and I was formally admitted by the Senior Fellow, Lord Bathurst, a wonderful old gentleman of eighty-seven, who

had been a Fellow since 1810. He had been a dandy in George the Fourth's time, and still wore a high-collared blue coat and several waistcoats. His chief title to be remembered is the reredos in the College Chapel, which he restored at his own expense. He was courteous and good-natured, except at the whist-table, where he exulted in winning and took his losses badly.

I was elected on the old foundation, as modified in 1857, and my tenure was till death or marriage. Buckle, since Editor of *The Times*, was elected on the same terms in '78 : he vacated on marrying Alice Payn. After that, the Statutes made by Lord Salisbury's Commission took effect, and Fellows were elected for seven years. The value of a Fellowship had been rising rapidly, as the old beneficial leases fell in ; it stood in '77 at about £300, but agricultural depression soon reduced it to £200.

I have always been opposed, in principle, to what are called Prize Fellowships. Every Fellowship should have some definite duties attached to it. For a year I was a probationary Fellow, not even attending College Meetings, and after that I was strange in a place where nothing was required of me beyond moderately good behaviour. The Codrington Library was my home in Oxford ; I read widely, perhaps too widely, and formed literary plans, which came to very little. Montague Bernard advised me to write a law-book, but my old dislike of case-law revived ; I seemed never to master my subject. He also advised me not to dabble in politics. ' A lawyer,' he said, ' should not choose his party until he is ready to enter the House of Commons, and he should not attempt the House until he is ready to take the Solicitor-Generalship.' I now think this was good advice.

In July '77 I joined the Northern Circuit at Appleby. Herschell proposed me as a member of the mess. At Carlisle I addressed a British jury for the first time, and obtained the conviction of two men who had gone into a lonely tavern and compelled the landlady to supply them with much drink. One was defended by Arthur Elliot, the other by John Dickinson.

A man starting at the Bar should put some capital into the

business ; it pays him to have a good room, a clerk, and a library of his own. These obvious reflections did not occur to me in '77. I took a small room at 4 Brick Court : went thence to a garret in 5 New Square, and had always a fractional share in somebody else's clerk. Briefs did not arrive, and the long days in chambers tried my health and spirits. My nature is such that I respond readily to any demand upon me, but I have no power of aggression. An imprudent marriage, with the demands of a wife and family, might have made me successful, but I may sum up that chapter of my life by saying that I was unlucky, and could not expect to be anything else.

26 December '77 my sister Ella became the wife of R. R. Simpson, W.S.

In 1878 I helped to introduce a deputation of Scotch ministers to Mr. Gladstone, and the great man asked me to breakfast. He and Goldwin Smith were the talkers. Gladstone's speech, delivered at the Westminster Palace Hotel, was very, very bad.

I was a member of the Union Debating Society in the Adelphi, and made some good speeches. In '79 Sir Henry Doulton invited me to join the Verulam, a society which met at his pleasant house in Tooting, and at the houses of other members. Sir Henry was a remarkable man, born of a Liberal and Nonconformist stock, but born with a love of all that was beautiful and dignified which carried him away from his hereditary limitations. The art branch of his pottery work was largely his own creation, his chief ally being John Sparkes, artist and teacher. They discovered George Tinworth, and gave him the opportunity to produce his strangely original presentments of scenes from the Bible in terra-cotta.

Spital Square. In 1879 my kind friend Mrs. Greenhorn asked me to take an interest in certain Homes for Working Boys. They were not industrial homes, but places where lads working in the City could have lodging and board at easy rates, with some instruction and moral supervision. The home to which I was assigned as a regular visitor was in Spital Square, Bishopsgate, formerly a fashionable quarter—the Home had once been the town house of the Goldsmid family, a good old house with

carved mantelpieces and so forth, but shabby, and besieged by rats, which were kept out with difficulty.

For ten years or so I attended on Sunday evening and one evening in the week : kept a Bank : taught whatever the boys would learn : organized small treats, such as an evening of songs or a visit to the Swimming Bath : knew what supper you get for 1*d.* or 2*d.* ; and what clean linen we could afford in the dormitories. The boys were seldom rough, and a few gymnastic bars in the basement helped them to work off their superfluous energy.

This work was a turning-point in my history. My easy life had made me indifferent about beliefs, but you can't be indifferent in East London if you are interested in a lot of boys, fighting their way into the working world : priests and Salvation captains and Hall of Science competing for their souls : lust and dishonesty lying in wait for them at every dark corner. To teach these lads the elements of religion and morals is a serious business. One has to know the Bible, and to know it well, for Cockney wits are keen. And more than that, experience and responsibility compelled me to think, and ultimately gave me a hold on great truths which I had previously held or doubted in an abstract way.

I had a vague idea of becoming a candidate in the election of '80, but could not afford it. I was in request as a platform speaker, and supported C. Sharp in South Lincolnshire, &c. Joined the Eighty Club.

In 1880 my father's health gave way. Work never did him any harm ; but strife or anxiety always told on him. There was a party against him in his office ; and he had private sorrows of which I cannot speak. His brain was gradually softening. He went to Pau : I brought him home in April '80, in time to attend the funeral of my uncle Alexander at Abney Park—a memorable scene. The summer of that year we were at Craggan near Grantown. A noble nature may be noble even in its decay. From time to time the cloud lifted, and my father spoke as he had been wont to speak ; but the end was not far off.

26 July '82, my father died. I was examining at Tonbridge at the time.

In '83 and following years I held briefs in the Privy Council in Canadian appeals : my leaders were Sir Horace Davey and Sir Oliver Mowat. The work was interesting, and gave me some knowledge of colonial constitutions.

In 1883 I took a house, 33 Gower Street, and my mother and two then unmarried sisters came to stay with me. On Sundays we went to Regent Square, where Dr. Dykes was minister, one of the two or three best preachers in England. When he gave himself to College work, he was succeeded by John McNeill, a popular evangelist who mingled jokes with his discourses, to the horror of the Old Guard of English Presbyterianism.

In 1884 I was appointed Reader in English Law at Oxford, but kept on my chambers for a time, going to and fro several times a week. My classes at first were small, but I had some good men, who put me to my mettle. The drawback of modern Oxford is, that teaching is too much subordinated to examination ; the men do not come to a lecture unless it pays ' for the Schools '; even the best of them have no time to take an interest in any subject for its own sake.

The Sorrows of a Candidate. Early in '85 Prof. Calderwood wrote to ask whether I would stand for South Edinburgh. There was some talk of inviting the Lord Provost, Sir George Harrison, a friend of my father's, with whom I had no desire to compete. But Sir George was 74 and had not been in Parliament before ; he might not see his way to stand. Ultimately I agreed to speak in Edinburgh as a possible candidate.

There was a strong Liberal Association in the Division, composed, of course, of keen party men, and therefore not quite representing the average elector. I went too far in recognizing a kind of right in the Association to determine who should be the candidate of the party.

My ' trial sermons ' (21 and 23 March) went off well : the Press was hostile. The Radical *Evening News* thought me ' hazy and shifty ' ; this was because I would not accept Local Veto without compensation. The *Scotsman* was angry because an unknown man was put up against Sir George.

The fact is, that both Sir George and I were in a false position. He had to pose as a staunch old Liberal, whereas he was really

a Conservative. I had to make myself out a Radical, while the crude plans of my Temperance and Home Rule friends were arousing all the conservative instincts of my nature. In the Eastern Division, Costello was preaching Social Democracy, and as we were both Balliol men, whatever he said was cast up to me.

There were three great issues on which the Liberal Party was divided, and my own declarations may be summed up thus: (1) I accepted disestablishment in Scotland; the disendowment part of the scheme to be carried out with due consideration, so that the measure might lead up to a comprehensive reunion of the Presbyterian Churches. (2) I seriously considered the demand for Home Rule in Ireland; pointed out the risks; and thought the safest form of self-government would be a separate quasi-colonial system, with proper military safeguards. I was opposed to federalism, and to Home Rule for Scotland. (3) I did not exactly welcome Mr. Chamberlain's 'unauthorized programme', and told the electors I preferred the old Liberal political economy.

I addressed more meetings about the end of June, and on 25 September the Association adopted me as their candidate by 83 to 2. My best policy would have been, even then, to retire in Sir George's favour; he could not hold the seat long. But this my supporters would not permit; they had chosen me, and would never accept Sir George: so the contest went on. The Conservatives, who numbered about 1,500 in the Division, were to decide the result. If they had put forward a candidate I should probably have won. But they finally decided to vote for Sir George.

On the 9th November Mr. Gladstone arrived on the scene, and spoke in the Albert Hall, asking for a majority large enough to make him independent of the Irish. On the 11th he spoke in the Free Church Assembly Hall. I heard him half a dozen times, with anything but approval. He had really nothing to say on the great issues of the day; treated them all as questions of voting power, and never touched on the merits. There was no enthusiasm as in 1880, but the presence of the old man kept his party together.

25 November was the election day: Sir George polled 4,275 and I 2,874. We claimed to have polled a majority of the Liberals in the division. Sir George was very good-natured about it; his friends were not. He died, much to my sorrow, on 23 December before he had taken his seat in Parliament.

During the contest I was struck with the fact that Scotch electors argued particular points with great acuteness, but often showed great want of wisdom and balance. They lacked the English spirit of compromise, which has its origin in history. To bring out the historical aspect of parties and party questions, I wrote a little book, *Elementary Politics*. The book was successful, and it still continues to circulate.

It was a piece of good fortune for me to be left out of the new House of Commons. As a party man I might have been drawn or driven over to Mr. G. and Home Rule. As a private person I was free to form my own opinion of the dubious tactics by which the Liberals obtained office, and the amazing futility of the scheme which they presented to the country. I had never been dogmatically opposed to an Irish legislature, but my view was that Mr. Gladstone had made Home Rule impossible: so I became an active and decided Liberal Unionist.

After contributing my small quota of effort to the downfall of the Gladstone-Parnell combination, I went with my brother-in-law R. Simpson and my friend G. R. Parkin to see the United States and Canada: sailing from Liverpool 5 August, in the *City of Rome*. Parkin took us to his home at Fredericton, and our route was by St. John, N. B., Halifax in Nova Scotia, thence by Intercolonial Railway to Quebec, Ottawa, Montreal, Toronto, Niagara, London in Ontario, Chicago, Washington, Baltimore, Philadelphia, Princeton, New York, Boston. An interesting journey, which led me to read rather vigorously in Canadian History and the literature of the American Constitution on my return. See my article 'Canadian Confederation', *Times*, 5 January '87.

Lord Gifford died January '87. I was one of his executors and joined in carrying out his remarkable Will. I wrote a notice of him in the *Law Times*.

Second Candidature. In November '85 T. R. Buchanan, a Balliol and All Souls man like myself, was returned for West Edinburgh as a Liberal. He was taken aback by the Home Rule scheme, voted against the Bill, and July '86 was again returned for West Edinburgh as a Liberal Unionist. It was a nightly strain on his feelings to vote with the Conservatives ; at an early stage he was marked as a man likely to go back to Mr. G. In '87 the Crimes Act gave Mr. G. an excuse for taking the side of anarchy, and it gave Buchanan the occasion to change his party. He felt it right to give his electors an opportunity to approve or disapprove ; accepted the Chiltern Hundreds, and announced himself as a Home Rule candidate. It was plain that the seat must be contested. I tried to bring Milner into the field, and other names were suggested, but time was wearing on ; the Unionists in the division had not found a man ; some pressure was put on me, and I stepped into the breach. I have not heard of any other case where two Fellows of the same College stood as adversaries.

Some of my speeches in this campaign were really excellent. Irish history and politics always had a special interest for me, and, as Mr. G. was now veering to federalism, my study of the American Constitution was of great use to me. Except on the platform, I was a bad candidate. My taciturnity in private life was set down to academic pride, though in fact it was due to academic shyness. The division was really Unionist, and my impression is that anybody but myself could have won the seat.

The Unionist Party treated me well ; paid most of my expenses, and sent speakers to support me. Lord Selborne and Sir Edward Clarke spoke at a general muster of Unionists in the Music Hall. Caine spoke for me in Stockbridge ; he was very severe on Buchanan, whose example he followed not long after.

28 January '88 I was admitted a ' Free Gardener '. That Ancient Order was brought into Scotland by Protestants from the Low Countries, in Alva's time ; and their politics turned a good deal on dislike of Irish Romanism.

The poll was taken 18 February '88 : and the counting

showed Buchanan 3,294, Raleigh 3,248. At the next contest in '92 Lord Walmer beat Buchanan by more than 500.

25 March to 6 April I gave myself a holiday abroad, and saw Rome thoroughly.

Oxford Again. Having now proved my want of the gifts which are necessary for success in law and politics, I fell back on Oxford; gave up my house and chambers in London; took over, in '89, the Balliol tutorial work from Dicey. In a short time I had twenty-five pupils, and was giving two or three courses of lectures every term, some for the Law School, and some covering the field of Political Science, as prescribed for the Indian Civil Service examinations. The life of a College lecturer is a very laborious one; but my London friends, when they came to stay with me, professed to envy my 'academic leisure', and incited me to undertake some important literary work. I did write: a little book, *Irish Politics*, was written in '89; articles of sorts in various periodicals ('Hero Worship' and 'Quaker Biographies' in *Macmillan's Magazine*, &c.), and a very large number of articles for the new edition of *Chambers's Encyclopaedia*.

One advantage of living in Oxford is that interesting people from every quarter turn up as visitors to see the place and enjoy themselves. I could make quite a brilliant list of my guests in College—Choate and Seth Low from New York; Comte de Frangaville and others from Paris; Father Denifle; lawyers such as Leake, Arbuthnot, Cohen from London. H. Asquith, H. Paul, Haldane kept me informed as to the course of things in London. But one of these visits was so memorable that it deserves a separate record.

Mr. Gladstone in Oxford. In February '90 Mr. Gladstone was busying himself with the relations between the Homeric Greeks and the East. He took up his abode in All Souls, as the guest of the College, and did some reading. He lived as one of ourselves, never missing chapel, breakfasting in common room, lunching in the buttery, and dining in Hall. His vigour was wonderful; when he was late for anything he ran across the quadrangle like a schoolboy, but sight and hearing were beginning to fail him. The ladies of his family

gave us a number of instructions about his food and wine, but the old man did not observe all their rules.

On Sunday morning, as I happened to be Dean, I asked him whether, as an Honorary Fellow, he acknowledged my jurisdiction. 'I acknowledge all jurisdiction,' he said; 'I am the most conformable of men.' So I made Trench, the Junior Fellow, read the First Lesson (Genesis i) and sent Mr. Gladstone out to read the Second Lesson (last chapter of Revelation). Both read well; Mr. Gladstone's reverent manner and beautiful articulation were most impressive.

Mrs. Gladstone was a little anxious about this Oxford escapade; she turned up one day unexpectedly, as the guest of Sir Henry Acland. An Oxford lady, wishing to be agreeable, spoke of this visit as a 'pleasant surprise'. 'Not at all,' said the old man, solemnly. 'There are far too many ladies in Oxford already.'

As often as he came to Oxford, Mr. Gladstone returned, as if by instinct, to the Tory politics of his youth. He resented all modern changes, and was shocked, not without reason, to see young men parading the High Street in football 'shorts'. He even objected to Liddell and Scott, saying that scholars in these days had too many helps and appliances. 'We had to make our own lexicon, and the labour did us good.' He regretted the disappearance of noblemen and gentlemen commoners, much to the horror of an orthodox Liberal who was sitting next him.

It was just the same with general politics. Thus on religious education he said, 'As a denominationalist and a dogmatist, I have always regarded the Board School as a most unsatisfactory solution of the problem of popular education.' On the programme of the Labour Party he said, 'For me Socialism has no attractions, and any influence I possess will be used to discourage the exaggerated expectations formed in the minds of working men by the teaching of the so-called Labour Party.'

On subjects of mere curiosity, such as the proper organization of a nobleman's kitchen, he would deliver a set lecture, with great wealth of detail. On questions of scholarship he was always interesting, but sometimes wonderfully inaccurate.

Thus, he would start a theory as to the uses of a Homeric word which a single reference to the despised Liddell and Scott would have shown to be untenable.

One afternoon he walked round and round the great quadrangle with me, and spoke freely of politics and parties. What struck me was, that he presented Liberalism, not as his own political creed, but as a refuge to which he had been driven because the Tory Party had failed him.

I wrote for the *Oxford Magazine* some verses, *Meister Wilhelm in Oxford*, a parody of Browning's *Master Hugues of Saxe-Gotha*. See also my article on 'American Opinion and Home Rule', *Contemporary Review* for 1892.

Hebdomadal Council. I had some idea of taking part in University business, and some difficulty in finding an opportunity: stood for Council, and was beaten by R. Macan. In '92 Jowett, who was retiring on account of age and deafness, recommended me as his successor, and on 15 November I was elected, defeating Henry Nettleship.

The Council is a body of some twenty-two persons; it is the executive of the University, and has the sole right to initiate business in Congregation, which consists mainly of resident Masters and Doctors, and Convocation, the larger body which includes all Masters and Doctors who keep their names on the books.

Besides this central Council, there are many, perhaps too many, Boards and Delegacies, presiding over the different branches of administration and finance. It would be easy to organize an office which would take over most of the business, but the existing constitution is popular, because it enables a large number of resident Dons to have some share in the management of University institutions. Much depends on a handful of men who have established their reputation as advisers and administrators; they serve on many Boards, and give unity to what is called the system.

When I entered Council the two men who were on all the most important Boards were Bartholomew (otherwise Bat) Price and Alfred Robinson. Each possessed much more than the brains of the average Cabinet Minister, but they found full

scope for their talents in the University. In character they were contrasted. Price, an eager Welshman, was a fighter; when he had a point to carry he surveyed the ground, rallied his supporters, and cut off straggling parties of the enemy. Robinson was a reconciler; before a critical division, both sides usually went to him for advice. I learned much from both, and was happy in being always on friendly terms with both.

In the working of our complicated University machine, legal questions often arise, many of them not important enough to be referred to the Standing Counsel, and the framing of statutes and decrees cannot be accomplished without the aid of a draftsman. In these matters I was of some use to the Council. Happily for me, I was the only lawyer in Council, and my opinions were accepted without challenge. Having thus made a place for myself, I soon became a Curator of the Chest, and a Delegate of the University Press. The work was, to me, most interesting, but, when combined with my pupils and my lectures, it was killing. I told Jowett how matters stood, and, though he was nearly at the end of his strength, he was very kind. (1 October '93 was the date of his death, 6 October the funeral. I wrote the leader in the *Pall Mall Gazette*: 3 October, I think.) I asked him whether he thought I could get a Scotch Professorship. He said, 'No, that is not what you should aim at; you should be in the public service.' This pleased me much, because it showed that my Balliol work had made a good impression on him. He had, in fact, unknown to me, asked some personage to offer me a Commissionership, but the place was given away before my name was sent in.

The details of University business are not entertaining, but I mention briefly some of the questions of my time in Council.

There was an important Statute passed, under which our B.A.'s and Bachelors of other Universities were encouraged to enter on a two years' course of advanced study, under the general guidance of a Professor, and rewarded with the degree of Bachelor in Science or Letters. I strongly approved of this, but cannot claim much credit for the statute; my draft was ruthlessly amended in Congregation.

3 February '94. A deputation from our Law Faculty conferred with the Council of Legal Education: Westlake gave us lunch at Lincoln's Inn. We wished them to accept our law degrees in lieu of the book-part of the Bar Examination—adding thereto such tests in procedure, &c., as would be really useful to our men. As might have been expected, they refused. Lord D. said to me, 'How could they do what you wanted? If the Inns of Court admit that the Universities can do what they are pretending to do, somebody will ask a question in Parliament, and we shall have a Commission, with the usual results.' I relieved my feelings by writing an article, 'Legal Education in England' in the *Juridical Review*, an Edinburgh publication.

We tried to open degrees in Divinity to persons other than clergymen of the Church of England, and a Committee of Council held a solemn conference with the Theology Board. It was not an easy question, for Canon Bright wanted some safeguards for orthodoxy. He asked whether we would admit Renan to the degree of D.D. We fenced with this, until one of our Committee said, 'Personally, I would.' 'That,' said Bright, 'is a *reductio ad impossibile*.' He suggested that candidates might be required to sign the Nicene Creed; but here we scored a point. One of our number asked whether the Nicene Creed, as accepted by the Church of England, would exclude those prelates of the Eastern Church on whom degrees in Divinity had been conferred by acclamation. In the end, nothing came of this conference.

Part of the ground on which the Bodleian Library is built belonged to Magdalen College. The University bought it; the price was referred to arbitration and the arbitrators awarded what certainly seemed an exorbitant sum. A decree for payment was presented to Convocation; it was fiercely opposed; we were told that the University should simply hold possession, and defy the College to evict. It looked as if a majority would vote for this improper and undignified course. I spoke some fifteen or twenty minutes in support of the decree, and may almost claim to have carried it, though nobody felt the hardship of the case more sincerely than myself.

Quain Professorship. A chair had been founded in University College, London, in memory of Mr. Justice Quain. I was not a candidate, not knowing exactly what the subject (Comparative Law) was meant to cover. But the College Council offered me the appointment. I accepted, on ascertaining that they would allow me to lecture on comparison of laws within the British Empire. I prepared myself for this course by reading through the Privy Council Reports, for the Judicial Committee is really the greatest institute of comparative law in the world.

Lincoln's Inn lent me a room (formerly Mr. Justice Fry's court) to lecture in : I delivered my inaugural lecture 7 November '94 to a good audience, largely composed of friends. The law students soon found out that my lectures did not bear on any examination. They swiftly and suddenly vanished away, and I was left with a small band of senior men, who took an intelligent interest in the subject.

Some of my colleagues in Gower Street objected to my appointment on a technical ground, and I heard that the same persons complained of my lecturing at Lincoln's Inn. I therefore announced a course of lectures on ' Law Studies ', meaning to deal with Stair, Pothier, Mansfield, &c., as students and exponents of different systems of law, and these lectures were to be given at the College in Gower Street ; but at the appointed time no students appeared : an object-lesson in the futility of giving law lectures so far from the Inns of Court.

Albert Gray and I were Secretaries of the Society of Comparative Legislation. In the vacation of '95 I went to Detroit to represent the Society at a Congress promoted by the American Bar Association, leaving Liverpool 17 August by *Campania*. We all enjoyed the Congress immensely, but the solid results were not great. From Detroit I went to Toronto, where Parkin was about to take up the Headmastership of the Upper Canada College. I met him on his arrival, 2 September. There was a dinner at the National Club : I made a speech, but as my turn came after midnight, my remarks were brief. Sailed from N. Y. with the *Umbria* 7 September. As we came out into the open sea, we had a fine view of the *Valkyrie* and

the *Defender* preparing to race, and the noisy ring of excursion steamers round them.

Privy Council Office. The Act of 1833 which constitutes the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, provided for the appointment of a Registrar. Henry Reeve became Clerk of Appeals in 1835 and held office, first as Clerk, then as Registrar, till '87. His successor, G. D. Faber, came into a fortune, and towards the end of '95 he resigned. Several London friends wrote to me about this, and I wrote a letter which Selborne kindly undertook to lay before the Duke of Devonshire. Haldane, I believe, saw the Duke, and pointed out that my work for the Quain chair would be a good preparation for the Registrarship. The Duke submitted my name to the Queen, and on 19 February '96 Sir Chas. Peel, Clerk of the Council, introduced me to their Lordships.

The Committee sits in the Council Chamber, a quiet and somewhat dingy room at the corner of Whitehall and Downing Street. The Registrar is housed in an adjoining room, which looks into Downing Street. I had occasional glimpses of Mr. Balfour going out to golf, or Sir Michael Hicks-Beach striding home after a Cabinet meeting. Just behind my desk was a complete set of the English Law Reports, and the colonial books were close at hand in the Council Chamber. It was an ideal place for work. During my Council Office time I wrote many articles for the *Encyclopaedia of English Law.*

My staff consisted of George Wheeler, Chief Clerk, T. Preston, Record Clerk (both of whom had been a long time in the office), and Ledlie, an accomplished Oxford man, who has since risen to be Chief Clerk. We were a harmonious family—Wheeler laying down the law to us all, Preston indexing everything and everybody with great care, while Ledlie was most useful in teaching me the details of bills of costs.

The Committee takes appeals from the Colonial and Indian courts and from ecclesiastical courts ; it deals also with applications for prolongation of patents. The judgement of the Committee is in the form of a report to the Sovereign. Their Lordships humbly advised Her Majesty to allow or dismiss an appeal, and effect was given to this advice by an Order in

Council, drafted by the Registrar, and submitted for approval by the Clerk of the Council.

The practice was not hard to learn, but for some time I stayed late at the Office, trying to master all the forms of business. Once or twice I had some difficulty in escaping from the building, after the caretaker had locked up. The Acts and Orders under which we worked were in some points not satisfactory. I drew a consolidating Bill and a consolidating Order, but the higher powers were apathetic on the subject and nothing was done. I made large additions to the Library, and had to fight the Treasury on the question of expense. I called myself The Lords of the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council, and my correspondent called himself The Lords Commissioners of Her Majesty's Treasury, so that everything was done in the most dignified way.

The Judges who attended regularly were the Lord Chancellor, Lord Halsbury, whose courtesy and quickness of apprehension made it a pleasure to work under him, in spite of the trouble he gave to Registrars and others by postponing judgement; Lord Watson, senior Lord of Appeal, a truly great Judge; Lord Macnaghten, a fine scholar and keen lawyer, whose judgements were always models of good English; Lord Morris, an astute Irishman, whose law was not his strongest point; Lord Davey, whom I had known at the Bar as an advocate of the first rank; India was represented by Lord Hobhouse, who had been Law Member of Council, and Sir Richard Couch, who had been Chief Justice at Bombay and Calcutta. Under an Act of 1895 three colonial Chief Justices were added—Sir Henry de Villiers from the Cape, Sir Henry Strong from Canada, and Sir Samuel Way from South Australia. All three came to London in '97 for the Diamond Jubilee, and all three attended the Board; but the colonial governments took financial and other objections to their sitting regularly.

The cases were argued at the Bar by such men as Arthur Cohen, Sir Edward Clarke, Bigham, Cozens-Hardy, Asquith, Haldane, &c. J. D. Mayne was in most of the Indian appeals. Some of the Judges (notably Halsbury, Herschell, Watson) were much addicted to interrupting and cross-

examining Counsel—a bad practice, to which the Bar too readily submits.

The Lord Chancellor made me a member of the Committee which was bringing out a New Series of State Trials. Lord Thring was our despotic chairman ; he and Sir Henry Jenkyns gave the Secretary (J. P. Wallis) a hard time. Wallis went to Madras as Advocate-General, while I was in India.

On being appointed Registrar, I took a house, 35 Woburn Square, and, with the aid of a capable housekeeper, made it a fairly comfortable resort for my family and friends when they came to London.

Under ordinary circumstances, the Registrarship of the Privy Council is a place to be held for life, and I should have been content to occupy my citadel in Downing Street until the time came to retire. But in the beginning of '99 my thoughts were turned in a new direction.

Sir H. Jenkyns was retiring from the Parliamentary Counsel's office ; Sir Courtenay Ilbert was to have his place, and the post of Assistant Parliamentary Counsel was offered to M. D. Chalmers, Law Member of Council in India. It was intimated to me that I might send in my name for the Secretary of State's consideration, and name two persons in authority who could vouch for my qualifications. I named Lord Watson and Sir Wm. Anson. Lord Watson, who was ill at the time, insisted on getting out of bed to write a strong letter on my behalf : a proof of his goodwill which I take great pleasure in recalling.

The one reason for hesitating was this, that my mother was 75. But she was then strong and active for her age, and she wished me to go if the Government required my service.

On the advice of Lord George Hamilton, Her Majesty was pleased to appoint me an Ordinary Member of Lord Curzon's Council, and I began to prepare for departure. Ilbert told me all about my duties ; Lady Ilbert gave good advice about housekeeping. Lady Hobhouse terrified me with her description of Anglo-Indian etiquette. My tailor gave a check to my pride by informing me that my proper uniform was ' third class civilian '. (Members of Council have since been raised to the second class.) I took some riding lessons, but did not

distinguish myself as a horseman. All being ready, I left London 8 March, '99; joined my colleague Dawkins and his party at Marseilles, and came in sight of Bombay at dawn of the 24th. The *Caledonia* is a fast boat, and the voyage was pleasant. Two Miss Leiters (sisters of Lady Curzon) supplied the ladies with materials for gossip. J. E. O'Connor, Director of Statistics, and Horsfall, a Madras District Judge, gave me useful information about the ways of Government in India. The captain of the ship happened to be a friend of Sir Louis Kershaw, who succumbed to his second hot season in India. When I was sitting on deck, the captain would bear down and begin about 'poor Kershaw', and the folly of going to India after the age of 45.

India. Captain Goodridge took us off the *Caledonia* in a launch, and we went to Government House, where Lord and Lady Sandhurst were kind to us all. The aspect of the town, with its fine buildings and parti-coloured crowd, gave us a favourable idea of India.

Dawkins went to Calcutta, and I, by Chalmers's advice, to Simla, taking with me in my official carriage the Dawkins family party. Through sheer ignorance, we made a long journey without Indian servants, and were very uncomfortable.

My halting place was Aligarh. Theodore Beck, who married my cousin Jessie in '89, had been Principal of the Muhammadan College there since '83. Under his guidance I saw what an ordinary Indian town is like, and thoroughly inspected the College, which is a good example of its class, and far better than most of the Colleges I have seen. It was only the end of March, but the sun was very strong. I was astonished to see the students playing football. The success of this College is due to the friendship between the founder, Sir Syed Ahmed, and Theodore Beck. They combined their forces in dealing with a rather intractable body of Muhammadan Trustees. Sir Syed was just dead, and his son Mahmud thought he inherited his father's authority; Beck had not his troubles to seek, and the climate of Aligarh put a strain on his health.

On arriving at Simla I took over charge of my office under the usual salute of thirteen guns.

Sir James Walker, who married my cousin Katie Davey, was the owner of a fine house, Woodville, at one time the residence of the Commander-in-Chief. He kindly offered to take me as a tenant; I had the place five years and became very fond of it. Though the house was roomy and dignified, the finest feature of the place was a goodly expanse of lawn, so safely fenced that even small children could be turned in to play. The garden showed mostly English flowers, under the care of a *mali*, a quaint old hillman who favoured me with long lectures in some tongue of his own. With the house I took over Walker's servants, Ally-ud-deen the *khansama*, *chowdri* bearer, &c. My own servants wore blue coats, and were under the *khansama*; the *chaprasies* supplied by Government wore red coats, and were under the *jemadar*. They all lived in their own little houses in the compound; when there was nobody staying with me, I slept in my big house alone. But I was lucky in having company nearly all the time.

The Becks joined me in May. They moved after a time to a house of their own; there 11 July my god-daughter Rachel was born, and there 2 September Theodore died.

Jessie came to my house again with the baby. Bain arrived from Poona with his wife and little girl.

The Council. Lord Curzon had been about three months in India when I arrived. His Executive Council was composed of five Ordinary Members: Sir A. Trevor (Public Works), Sir E. Collen (Military), Clinton Dawkins (Finance), Rivaz (Home and Revenue), and myself (Legislative). The Commander-in-Chief, Sir Wm. Lockhart, was an Extraordinary Member. At meetings for making laws and regulations we were reinforced by the presence of the Additional members, numbering fifteen or sixteen.

In May the Viceroy arrived in Simla, and the Executive Council began work, sitting regularly every Friday, and specially when anything important happened. At Simla the legislative business is not heavy, and only Additional Members who are on the spot are summoned.

The Viceroy and the six members of his Government are brought into close relations; in the Indian climate, and under

the stress of Indian work, differences may easily become too acute. During my time there was happily no strife or bitterness: we seldom went through the formality of a division: the minority gave way, or the contested proposal was withdrawn.

I sometimes feel that I have not seen the Government of India under normal conditions, for Curzon's was an exceptional time. He is a man of exceptional energy and self-confidence; he had made a special study of Indian questions, and came out with a programme already framed. His power of work is very great. Rising about 9, he can read a pile of newspapers and be at his desk by 10. Allowing an hour for lunch, and half an hour for tea, he can go on till dinnertime, give the evening to his social duties, and work again from midnight till 3 a.m. Not a moment of this working time is lost; he has his papers in perfect order, and when he comes to write his Minute or Dispatch, he turns off the paragraphs as fast as a J pen will go. This he can do for some weeks together. But when he goes on tour, his vitality seems unimpaired, and he is as keen about shooting as he is about business. Physically, he suffers from sciatica or neuritis, but he goes on with his office papers, unless his doctor absolutely takes them away.

Though he adheres to the Conservative Party, Curzon is a Radical by temperament. He expects to find abuses in old institutions, and is fond of suggesting changes. He sweeps the officials out of his way when they object to anything which is for the good of the people. Lord Salisbury taught him to dislike law and to distrust lawyers. In a case where he suspects misconduct, his impulse is to descend on the accused person at once, without giving him the benefit of any doubt. He is sensitive to criticism, especially newspaper criticism; an article in the *Pioneer* headed 'Viceroy or Kaiser?' inspired him with a settled dislike of that respectable print. But it should in fairness be said that he risks his popularity without hesitation when there is a public duty to be done.

Calcutta. In November '99 I went down from Simla to Aligarh to start Jessie Beck and Rachel on their sad voyage home. The students met me in a body at the station, at five

in the morning. They were deeply interested in the departure of Mrs. Beck, and their devotion to the memory of Theodore Beck was touching to see.

After seeing mother and daughter and the Irish nurse on board at Bombay, I spent a few days there with the Chief Justice, and then turned in the direction of Calcutta. One of the greatest privileges of a Member of Council is the right to a railway carriage of his own. With my books and papers in one compartment, my bed in another, my bath at one end of the carriage, and my bearer, *khitmatgar*, *jemadar*, and one *chaprasi* to look after me, I was furnished at all points, and could make long journeys without serious fatigue.

At Calcutta I had taken the upper part of 8 Russell Street, said to have been the house of Chief Justice Russell, from whom the street is named : if the tradition is historical, it is the house in which Rose Aylmer died. She was a niece of Lady Russell, and her aunt brought her to Bengal that she might marry a member of the Board of Revenue instead of wasting her time on young Mr. Landor of Trinity. But the poor girl died in her first season—and Mr. Landor has made her name immortal.

Mr. Justice Wilkins and his wife shared the flat with me this first winter : Sir Chas. Rivaz the second winter ; Donald Smeaton and his wife the third. After that I shared a house, first at 2 Short Street, then at 9 Camac Street, with the Ibbetsons. My life at Calcutta was one of constant work and worry, and it was a relief to have friends in the house who could organize the necessary parties, &c.

Contested Bills are usually kept for Calcutta, and there is a full muster of the Additional Members of Council. Legislative meetings are open to the public, and reporters are present, but there is not much debate ; speeches are nearly all written, and one has to speak sitting at a long table. Occasionally an Indian member finds that he cannot read his own (or his secretary's) MS., and the Secretary reads it for him. Even in the so-called cold weather, Calcutta is hot, and throughout my first session the difficulty of keeping awake was a serious trial to me.

After Simla, Calcutta is a big place, and a livelier place than

any Government station can be. There is, of course, a large mercantile community, which expresses its opinions through the Chamber of Commerce. The High Court maintains its own traditions, and is always glad to pose as the defender of the people against a powerful executive. The University does not count for much socially. When Curzon took it in hand, it was an examining University and nothing more, and the Calcutta Colleges are not what one hopes they may become. The big parties at Government House and Belvedere, where these various elements met and mingled, were highly entertaining.

For me, the Calcutta day was something like this. At 5.45 the crows were already in full chorus, and sleep was out of the question. I made good progress with my work between 6 and 9, then drove to my office. Committees sat usually from 11 to 2; as the Law Member is Chairman of all Committees, draftsman, and sometimes Member in charge of the Bill, I found this part of the work engrossing and exhausting. There might be a second Committee from 3 to 5, but more often I was free to go on with my writing. When the sun was low, I sometimes took ladies for a drive along the river front; the sunset colours, blurred and clouded by the soft black smoke from Howrah mills, made a grand picture. Other days I walked slowly across the Maidan to the Bengal Club, and stopped there to have tea and glance over the titles of the new books. Then home, to find a small Stonehenge of office boxes lying in wait for me, and a pile of letters demanding explanations of this, that or the other.

Travels in India. The executive officer in India does not rejoice in a long vacation—that is a privilege reserved for High Court Judges. Government work comes in pretty well every day in the year, and a certain proportion of the work is really urgent, though the red 'urgent' and blue 'immediate' slips are too freely used by a zealous Secretariat. When one is absent from head-quarters, cases accumulate rapidly, and this makes it impossible for a Member of Council to take long holidays or to see much of the country. It is part of the Viceroy's regular duty to make extensive tours, and to cultivate

the acquaintance of the Princes and Chiefs, but the members of Government are usually to be found at their desks.

In March 1900 I went to the Central Provinces, and Fraser then acting as Chief Commissioner, took me a round of famine camps.

In November of the same year (having been appointed Vice-Chancellor of Calcutta University) I went to see some of the Bengal Colleges, and then joined Sir Arthur Trevor and Miss Trevor in an expedition to Burma. The British India Company was using some of its large steamers to carry troops to South Africa, so we crossed the Bay of Bengal in a smaller boat. Some of the tinned provisions were bad; Sir Arthur and I were landed at Rangoon very ill; Major Davis of the Indian Medical Service diagnosed ptomaine poisoning. After a weary fortnight at a hotel we recovered sufficiently to go to Government House, where our blanched and exhausted appearance secured us the compassionate sympathy of Lady Fryer. After this unlucky beginning we were able to see something of Burma, travelling to Mandalay and Maymyo, and then in the direction of Lashio as far as the Gokteik Gorge. Returning to Mandalay, we joined a Royal Indian Marine boat which had been placed at our disposal, and enjoyed a very idle, happy time on the Irrawaddy: saw the ancient cities, and ran down as far as the sculptured cliffs of Htonbu.

In March 1901 I spent a few days at Peshawur, and ascended the Khyber Pass on a 'caravan day', camels and flocks of sheep blocking the road at every corner. I had not time to explore any other passes, but the Commissioner, Colonel Leigh, and the General in command gave me information as to the country which was soon to become the Frontier Province.

In October 1901 Sir John Woodburn kindly offered to take me with him on his annual visit to Sikkim, but the Ameer died at Kabul, and the Government of India was kept in session at Simla until the new ruler Habibullah was safely installed. I met Sir John at Darjeeling on his return, and spent a week there. The weather was brilliantly clear, and from my window at The Shrubbery the majestic form of Kanchanjunga was visible at every hour of the day or night. In the daytime I rode

about on a white Bhutia pony, ascending to various points from which Mount Everest was said to be visible. One day I saw—something, but the Lieutenant-Governor's young men would not admit that the something was really Everest.

In February 1902 I started from Calcutta with the Indian Universities Commission. We visited Madras (Hewett and I went to Bangalore), Poona, Bombay (Hewett and I went to Ahmedabad), then went back to Calcutta via Nagpur. After the Calcutta inquiry we went via Benares to Allahabad, Lucknow, and Lahore. By 19 April we were in Simla. The composition of the Report was a long business : it was signed 10 June.

August 1902 Curzon was at Mysore installing the young Maharaja. During this absence I went with James Wilson to the Kajan Valley. Our starting-point was Abbottabad, and there we inspected a large camp of Boer prisoners, and conversed with such of them as could speak English. Some were intelligent and eager to argue ; others were sulky and declined even the offer of a cigar. From Mansera we made our way up the Valley on ponies. The object of Wilson's visit was to put the final touches to a new land settlement for the Hazara District. When we approached a village, the people came out to meet us, led by one or more of the Saiyyids of Kugan, a class who used to give trouble to Ranjit Singh ; they are quiet enough now, for their fighting men are drafted into the Army or the Police, where they earn good pay and acquire habits of discipline. If there was any outstanding question as to the village settlement, our servants spread rugs, and we took our seats on the ground, the people sitting in a semicircle over against us ; in the space between, the *tahsildar*, the *kanungo* and the *patwari* displayed the maps and pedigrees from which the new record of rights was being made up. I admired Wilson's easy impassive way of getting at the facts of each case, and I am convinced that the people acquiesced in the fairness of his decisions. On our return journey we had a display of fireworks at Garri Habibulla (which will perhaps be a station when the railway climbs into Kashmir) ; then we took tongas and rattled down seventy-eight miles to Hasun Abdul.

November 1902 I had no holiday, but went straight from the small preliminary committee on the Code of Civil Procedure to the Committee of Council which met at Calcutta. At Christmas our labours were interrupted by the Coronation Durbar, and the Council and Secretaries to Government took train for Delhi. As senior member of Council I had a corner tent in the middle of the Viceroy's Camp: Elles and Law to my right, Arundel and Ibbetson to my left. Each of us took a 'camp office' to Delhi, and business went on, as far as the public functions would permit.

The year 1903 was filled with work—Code of Civil Procedure, and legislation for the Session 1903–4 (Universities, Co-operative Credit Societies, Ancient Monuments, to say nothing of the fight over the Official Secrets Bill). The session January–March 1904 was most exhausting: at the end of it I got my K.C.S.I., and prepared for departure. I was sorry to leave India, and very glad to get home. Fraser gave me a pleasant holiday of a few days in Backerganj and the Sunderbans; then I turned West—spent a few days with Bain at Poona: sailed from Bombay 16 April, and arrived in London evening of Sunday 1 May. The voyage home was pleasant, though the *Egypt* was crowded: we had the Bishop of Lahore (Lefroy), Chief Justice and Lady Jenkins, Russells, Battys, Johnstones, &c., and a number of subalterns who gave us a lively time.

Sir Thomas Raleigh did not continue these Notes beyond his return from India. After he came home he settled in London, became a K.C., and spoke of endeavouring to build up a practice before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. His 'invincible diffidence' prevented him from pressing his claims to a Government appointment, but his friends justifiably hoped that, after his fine record of work in India, he would be offered a post at home worthy of his capacity and experience. For some years, however, he was left without employment beyond being placed upon two tribunals to inquire into University affairs—the Treasury Committee on the University of Wales and the Royal Commission on Trinity College, Dublin. Sir Thomas was Chairman of the former. In 1909, on the invitation of Lord Morley,

then Secretary of State for India, Sir Thomas joined the Home Council of India, and he had great pleasure in returning to congenial work. About this time, however, his health began to fail. As he remarks at the beginning of his Autobiography, he had originally a good constitution, but he had gone to India comparatively late in life, and the climate and the heavy burden of work placed upon him seriously impaired his health. For some time he struggled against increasing ill-health, and in 1911 made an expedition to Egypt for the purpose of obtaining treatment there. In 1913, however, he felt compelled to resign his Membership of Council.

On his retirement from office Sir Thomas gave up his house in London and returned to Oxford, where he felt that he would be among old friends and where he lived until his death. The *Annals of the Church in Scotland* were composed during these last years at Oxford. During the first part of this period of retirement Sir Thomas took an active interest in University affairs, being appointed Deputy Steward of the University. His advice was constantly sought on all manner of subjects by a wide circle of friends, whose admiration for his character and confidence in his judgment were unbounded. Three years before his death Sir Thomas had a paralytic stroke from which he never recovered, and he died on 8th February 1920.

SIR THOMAS RALEIGH

BY

SIR HARRY R. REICHEL

When I went up to Balliol in 1875, three names loomed large and were mentioned with a certain awe—Asquith, Raleigh, and Milner. Milner was in the last year of his Final School, and admittedly the dominating figure in the undergraduate life of the University. Asquith and Raleigh had recently gained their fellowships and passed out of the common ken, surviving as great reputations. As a Fellow of Balliol there were naturally more stories about Asquith. Of Raleigh one heard comparatively little. 'A great speaker at the Union and a tremendous Radical,' was the description of him given me by a Conservative acquaintance. As I always shunned Union debates and had an Irish Protestant's natural distrust of contemporary Radicalism, there was nothing in this to suggest that the subject of it was to become one of my closest friends. He had won his fellowship at All Souls'. Thither in 1880 my good fortune took me also, and I found myself a member of the same Common-room. This did not at first mean much intimacy. To new-comers Thomas Raleigh presented a rather daunting exterior. There was about him a power of silence and an inscrutable calm of features that when in repose seemed carved in granite, which people who did not know him well were apt to find disconcerting, and which disposed a shy Junior Fellow to keep his distance. But this feeling was short-lived. It was impossible to see Raleigh in the free intimacy of the College Smoking-room, to listen to his incisive and humorous talk, and to watch the delightful play of expression in his face when he was really interested, all the more attractive in a man of so much native reserve, without seeing what a rich and racy humanity lay hidden beneath.

Later on came the experience of the College ' Gaudy ', at which it was his duty, in the time-honoured rôle of Lord Mallard, to sing the College song and to propose certain College toasts (he was a perfect after-dinner speaker) : and no ' Gaudy ' was considered complete without one or more humorous Scottish songs from him. His rendering of these was unique. In musical quality his voice was nothing out of the common ; but it was full of character and had a range of expression from grave to gay, from grimmest sarcasm to the most delicate banter, that was wonderfully arresting. On the occasion of a ' Gaudy ' when Lord Morley, an Honorary Fellow of the College, was expected to dinner, some one expressed a doubt whether Raleigh's songs would be quite *en règle*, with a distinguished guest present. ' Of course they would,' exclaimed another : ' It's a liberal education to hear Raleigh sing.'

Under these influences awe soon melted into genial admiration, and before long I found myself on terms of easy intercourse, and treated with the kindness and consideration he always showed to the younger members of the College. In 1884 I left Oxford for Bangor, and from that time for several years saw him only at College reunions, but the stirring events which were then transforming the political world quickened personal relations between men whose thoughts on the question of the day ran on the same lines. Raleigh was from the first a convinced Unionist, and regarded Mr. Gladstone's *volte face* as a desertion of true Liberal principles and fraught with all the disastrous developments that recent history has revealed. This brought us closer together. The weight which a man of open mind like his would naturally give to the first-hand experiences of a friend was in my case confirmed by a lucky forecast I made at the time of the O'Shea divorce suit. The result had just been announced, and Raleigh remarked to me as we sat talking after dinner : ' Well, I suppose Parnell will have to retire from the leadership now.' ' Why so ? ' I asked. ' Because a moral nation like the Irish will never submit to be led by a co-respondent.' ' You think so,' was my answer, ' and no doubt so do most people on this side of the Channel ; but I venture to predict that the Irish Party will *not* repudiate him, and that

if any protest comes, it will be from the English Nonconformists.' Several years later he remarked to me: 'Do you know, Reichel, I have often since thought of the remarkable accuracy of that forecast of yours about the effect of the *affaire* O'Shea.' Thus he was soon, with the exception of John Andrew Doyle, my closest friend in College, and when I was married in 1894 became my Trustee for the marriage settlement. In 1899 he went to India as Legal Member of the Supreme Council for Lord Curzon's first Viceroyalty, and for several years I heard nothing from him except an occasional letter at distant intervals on personal or social topics. The following humorous extract refers to a rumour discreditable to his horsemanship, which had reached the All Souls' Common-room from the Viceregal entourage, amongst other things alleging that he had been thrown from the saddle and only saved from injury by the strong arms of his syce:

'The Viceroy and his staff seem to spend their time in making stories about me and my horse. I do not profess to be a great horseman: but I will take on the Viceroy or the Metropolitan. As for tumbles, I have had exactly three, two in my first week at Simla, and one since. It was the Metropolitan, by the way, who was fielded by his syce—a very serious thing for the syce, who was converted into a brown pancake by his Lordship's superincumbent weight.'

During this official period he threw himself heart and soul into the great scheme of Indian University reform which was one of the chief measures in Lord Curzon's reconstruction programme. From this time India and University development were always present to him, and, along with the history of the Scottish Kirk, filled his mind. In later years one could not talk to him without feeling how the glamour of the great Dependency with its rich, ancient civilization coloured his thoughts, and to the end of his life it always seemed to me as if he were listening subconsciously to the call of the East. Though he was alive to the weak points in the Hindu character, particularly in respect of veracity and moral courage, he was entirely free from Anglo-Indian 'superiority'. Of prominent Indians whom he had known he generally spoke with respect,

and sometimes with warm personal regard. But the lot of the reformer is never an easy one, and in India the normal difficulties were greatly increased by religion and caste, under which the worst abuses acquired a certain sanctity. In a letter written in 1916, after giving his opinion about Hindu Universities, he adds :

' Do not quote Curzon or me. For some years he and I were the two best abused men in India, and the minds of our critics have not quite settled down.'

In 1909 he came down to Bangor and gave the academic address of the session, choosing as his subject ' The Universities of British India '. It had the raciness and trenchant directness of everything he said or wrote, and made a deep impression on a public keenly interested in intellectual questions but somewhat confined in outlook. It was plainly a revelation to most of his audience when he informed them that more languages were spoken in India than in Europe, and that the deliberations of the native Congress had to be conducted in English because it was the only language which all the members understood. The following extracts from private letters bear upon his Indian experience :

8 November '09.

' I used to tell my Bengali friends that if they wanted more influence in their own country they should capture the scientific services by turning out a supply of men (1) well-trained, and (2) trustworthy.'

13 October '09.

(This refers to his Bangor address.)

Indian Congress. ' Some of the Congress papers note that Sir T. R. made a long journey to breathe out his well-known fear and dislike of the higher education. But they don't put in so much cayenne as they did in the good old days, *consule Georgio.*'

28 January '12.

(He had made a half offer of his *Law Reports* to the Library of Bangor University College.)

' In regard to the books of which I spoke, I must put off deciding for a bit. We are at present making great efforts on behalf of Indian students in London. I have always wished

to provide them with a Library as a centre for their work, and if this project comes to anything I should as an ex-Indian V.-C. regard it as having a more direct claim on me than any other institution. So, until I know what can and will be done, the fate of my *Law Reports* will be *in dubio*.'

4 May '12.

'The Indian students leaped at my lawbooks, so I'm afraid Bangor will not see them.'

4 January '16.

(I had consulted him about a possible visit to India.)

'I cannot give a decided opinion about the Hindu University.

'My policy was to encourage Colleges which have a religious basis. The Mahomedan College at Aligarh, of which my friend Beck was Principal, was one of the best in India.

'But I stood out for a limited number of *big* Universities in which men of different religions could meet and learn to keep the peace.

'Harding has accepted the notion of a religious University. Aligarh is now a University (and spoiled in the process, so —— tells me).'

13 January '16.

'In 1902 I spent two days in going through the Hindu College in company with Sir Gooroodan Banerjee (a Brahmin and a Judge). I won't quite describe it as it was then. Our Act of 1904 was meant to bring Colleges up to a certain standard of efficiency, and by this time they may be all much improved. But in India the nature of things is a bit slippery. The pious Hindu is like Newman as described by Kingsley. He thinks lying is the weapon by means of which the saints hold their own with the brute world.'

Soon after his return from India he rendered a great service to higher education in Wales. In 1904 the three Welsh University Colleges, whose growth in students had made their financial position desperate, appealed to the Welsh M.P.'s, and on their representations Mr. Asquith, then Chancellor of the Exchequer, appointed a small Committee of Inquiry, with Raleigh as Chairman. The Chairman was the moving spirit. Fresh from his Indian University experience, he took up the work with keen interest and conducted an exhaustive inquiry which resulted in 1909 in the doubling of the College grants,

the increase being ear-marked for raising salaries, establishing a superannuation system, and increasing expenditure on books and scientific apparatus. But Raleigh's interest did not stop here. Though no definite appeal had been made on behalf of the University as distinct from its constituent Colleges, its needs had been included in the Committee's reference. He was determined that this should be no dead letter. One of the most valuable sections of the Report of his Committee was that which recommended in addition to the increases to the Colleges a separate increased grant to the University for the promotion of post-graduate study and research. This provision, which has virtually transformed the higher work of the Colleges, was due entirely to his foresight and initiative. The following extracts refer respectively (1) to a rumour that had reached him that in certain quarters it was intended to ignore any recommendation for increases of salaries and use the new grants for other purposes; (2) to Mr. Lloyd George's Oxford Degree after his promotion to the Treasury.

3 June '08.

'For some time past we have been aware that some supporters of the Colleges are not in sympathy with the demand for higher salaries. They have made no formal representation, and for this reason we shall probably not notice their arguments in the Report.

'We shall probably indicate the purposes to which public funds may properly be applied; of these purposes improvement of salaries will be one. We shall also probably point out (1) that your salaries are lower than the payment for the same work elsewhere, and (2) that your best men are drawn away to better-paid posts.

'It is natural that democratic authorities should be a little jealous of the professorial plutocrat. What proportion of your Governors can count on a *safe* income of £300 a year?'

26 June '08.

'I have met Lloyd George twice this last week, and found him well-disposed. I presented him on Wednesday. A very young undergraduate asked in a tone of anxiety, 'O Sir, please Sir, when am I to get my pension?" I levelled my MS. at him, and went on reading—"Hominibus septuagenariis"—and the youth uttered a hollow groan.'

Like most thoughtful men not engrossed in politics, he saw from the first the growth and magnitude of the German peril. The accident which knocked him over in 1913 was the beginning of a period of increasing disablement that only ended with his death; thus during the war, though I saw a good deal of him on business visits to town, I had only a few letters which can be quoted as illustrating his opinions of contemporary events:

7 May '15.

The German Peril. 'If "anti-German" is me, I don't accept the description. In the year 1868 (Gad, how old I am!) another boy and I were sent with a tutor to Tübingen—where, by the way, the Stinkpreussen were as cordially hated as they were in Belgium. I had good German friends, and when 1870 came I was on the German side. Even in those days one could perceive the feeling in which the present trouble had its origin. The Germans despised us, and they had the notion that our prosperity was somehow a fraud on them. George Meredith saw this, and if George Meredith could have written English, he could have made the English see it.

'I never had any sympathy with the later phases of pro-Germanism. After Haldane had been to Berlin he made his "Trust the Kaiser" speech, and about the same time Lord Loreburn said that anybody who regarded Germany as an aggressive power should be put under restraint.'

[The rest of the passage expresses his dissent from 'these two eminent men' with a humorous truculence not intended for the public eye.]

18 January '17.

'I have been reading Harold Begbie's *Vindication of Great Britain.* There is of course much to be said for Haldane, but H. B. omits a saying of the Kaiser, repeated to me by Haldane himself—"These English think themselves great men of business—and they send me a War Minister who can't ride and a Foreign Secretary who can't speak French".'

13 October '15.

(Early disasters in the Levant.)

'I see the Turks, inspired by the Germans, are going to kill out the non-Moslem communities: after the Armenians the Jews are next on the list. If William succeeds where Hadrian & Co. failed, it will be interesting.'

21 January '16.

'Is not Montenegro disgusting? Of course it only means that a blackguard old gentleman has taken a hatful of money to betray his country. But the old gentleman would have been comparatively respectable, if he had thought we could protect him in the paths of respectability.'

I have mentioned his power of silence. It could be a very 'companionable silence', to quote a remark once applied to another distinguished All Souls' Scot, but it could also be alarming enough. I remember when he was serving on the Royal Commission on the Irish University question in 1905, meeting a T. C. D. acquaintance who had dined in his company at the Trinity High Table, and who spoke of his impenetrable reserve with a dread that bordered on the ludicrous. Raleigh was believed, and with some justice, to favour the policy of a joint inter-denominational University on the principle he had tried to carry out in India, embracing both Trinity and a Roman Catholic College as constituent colleges. He hoped that in this way the two sets of students would be drawn together on the playing fields, and to a certain extent in the classrooms, and that a common corporate feeling would in time be evolved. Those who had closer knowledge than is perhaps possible to any outside observer, however keen-sighted, of the gulf that divides the two religions in Ireland and of the absolute control which the Roman Catholic Hierarchy is determined to exercise over the higher education of its own people, feared that such a policy would mean the ultimate disappearance of all academic freedom and the virtual extinction of the intellectual beacon-light of Ireland. In such a situation Raleigh's natural reserve was inevitably enhanced. As a member of the Commission he felt he ought not to allow himself to be drawn, and the result was a taciturnity which chilled the warm Irish expansiveness of the Trinity Common-room to the very marrow. The other side of the same quality was also exhibited in Dublin on another and a very different occasion, which he described to me with much enjoyment. It was the time of the Parnell trial in Dublin under the Beaconsfield Government. He resolved to go over and see things for himself. For this purpose he

selected the hotel which Parnell and his followers, then a small band, had made their head-quarters (the Hibernian, in Dawson Street, if my memory serves me), and for several days wore his cloak of silence. He noticed that Parnell lived by himself in a private room, and never mixed socially with his followers, while they herded together in the coffee- and smoking-rooms, and were as noisy as a pack of schoolboys when the Headmaster is away. On the rare occasions when Parnell appeared, it was just as if the Headmaster had walked into the room. There was an instant and solemn hush; the great man advanced a step or two from the door, called up the particular member he wished to speak to, and after exchanging a few words in a low voice withdrew, ignoring altogether the presence of the rest; and no sooner was the door closed than all was once more noise and racket. After dinner they kept it up in the coffee-room to a late hour, dropping off bedwards one by one. Each night of his stay Raleigh made a point of sitting the company out, and on each occasion the same thing happened. The last man (it was a different man each night) came across to where he was sitting, took the silent stranger into his confidence, and informed him that all the rest were a set of scamps and adventurers, and that he himself was the only honest man of the party.

In 1913 he was knocked down by a taxi in Piccadilly, and the rest of his life was a period of increasing disability and helplessness, the tragedy of which is revealed in occasional remarks in private letters:

(i) 'I am glad you have found military occupation. As for me, I can neither do nor say anything, nor can I think to any purpose about the War or any other topic.'

(ii) 'For myself, I am well when I am not ill. My life is a dull one, for I cannot do any work. This, of course, does not prevent cheerful friends from coming in every day to say there is a heavy job to be done and I am obviously the man to do it.'

And, most poignant of all:

(iii) 'I am quite well, and fit for nothing.'

In ability he stood out among a body of able colleagues. All Souls' had the reputation of getting the pick of the clever

young men fresh from the Schools, and certainly no Oxford Common-room could boast a greater variety of distinguished talent ; but for sheer intellectual power and insight I think we all, or the great majority, regarded him as head and shoulders above the rest of us. It was strange that a mind of such calibre should have been hampered through life by a certain self-distrust, which sometimes seemed to arrest action at a critical moment, and which concealed largely from the outside world, and perhaps from himself, the real greatness of the man. It gave an added charm to his personality, but at a serious cost to his effectiveness. Great as were the services he rendered both in India and at home, it was the general belief of those who knew him well that they would have been much greater, had he possessed a little more of the self-confidence that enabled men of far inferior capacity to exert a wider influence on their generation.

Along with this power went a catholicity of outlook and a justness of thought that gave his considered opinion great weight. He was pre-eminently fair-minded and incapable of anything like partisanship. A Scot to the core, he could give it against his native country, did the evidence incline that way. I have always been an admirer of Scottish efficiency, and remember one day expatiating to him on the well-known text ' England is a country governed by Scotchmen ', which I was inclined to extend to the Empire at large. To this he demurred. The Scot made a splendid Governor and official, but the Englishman, he thought, was stronger on the side of justice and consideration for the rights of others, the quality above all that made for the success of an imperial system. This view has been expressed by a brilliant namesake of his in words which I venture to quote, because they seem to sum up exactly Thomas Raleigh's thought on the subject :

' I mention England so much because I notice Englishmen seldom do, and, being mostly Scottish in blood, I can correct them. Scotland, Wales, Canada, Australia—all splendid, but not one of them just enough or cool enough to supply the cement of an Empire. So I like to keep on mentioning the old house-keeper.'

I think I never saw him so moved as once in recalling the passing of the iniquitous 'Trades Disputes Bill'. That a civilized Government should have deliberately made a law refusing citizens the protection of the Courts of Justice would have shocked him in any case; but that the outrage should have been committed by the British Government and in the name of liberty raised his indignation to white heat. His heaviest censure was for his lawyer friends on the Liberal side. Campbell-Bannerman, he said, was a layman and might not have fully realized what he was doing; but the acquiescence of lawyers like Asquith, who perfectly understood what was involved, was a betrayal of civic liberty that nothing could excuse.

He had the faculty of withering an opponent with a single caustic phrase that flashed out like a bolt from the blue, and seemed to reveal a formidable reserve of hidden force on which he did not usually draw. The contrast thus presented to his normal quiet self-control was startling beyond words. Occasionally this was used to sum up a personal impression. 'Animated leg of mutton' was his abrupt estimate of a speaker at a public meeting of the prosperous, well-fed, self-satisfied type. Asked whether a certain College contemporary was an orthodox Jew: 'I can't say whether he is a good Jew, but at all events he is free from any taint of Christianity.'

Next to this reserve and the sense of intense latent power it produced, what struck one most in his face was, I think, the union of strength and delicacy and the rare sweetness of his smile, the index of a beautiful and singularly lovable nature. This last quality could be fully appreciated only by the few who were embraced in the inner circle of his personal friends. To them his loss is irreparable.

ANNALS OF THE CHURCH IN SCOTLAND

PREFACE

In the following pages I have tried to present a faithful record of certain facts which illustrate the formation of the Church; the growth of Roman ascendancy; the revolt of the Northern nations in the sixteenth century; the attempts to secure uniformity in religion under Protestant forms, and the slow transition to what we describe as liberty of conscience.

Under the name of the Church in Scotland, I include any society which honestly claims to connect itself with the Society instituted by our Lord and organized by His Apostles. I have not consciously endeavoured to make out a case either for or against any particular society or school of opinion. Born in the Free Church of Scotland, I have spent a great part of my life in places where that society is not represented, and have thus been led to find friends and teachers in other societies of Christian people.

In a book intended for the general reader, I thought it better not to encumber the page with references. An appended note indicates the authorities on which my narrative is founded.

NOTE ON THE AUTHORITIES

For my brief account of the early Church, I rely on the New Testament, as expounded by Lightfoot, Hort, and others; there is much interesting matter in Rainy's *Ancient Catholic Church*. To understand our own history it is necessary to study the growth of the Roman system, of which our local Church was once an outlying part. For the Church in Scotland I have compared three general histories—Dr. John Cunningham (Church of Scotland), Dr. Grub (Episcopalian), and Dr. Bellesheim (Roman Catholic; translated by Sir D. Hunter-Blair). My book was completed before Dr. A. R. MacEwen published the first volume of his *History of the Church in Scotland*. Dr. MacEwen addresses himself, not only to the general public, but to professed students; my own work is for the ordinary layman, if he cares to read it. In trying to compress a long history into a limited space, one must often be content with general statements. If any reader wishes to check and supplement my narrative, he will do well to read a series of articles in the *Dictionary of National Biography*—Ninian, Kentigern, Columba, and so on in chronological order. These articles are written to give information, not to support the opinions of any school or party. The lives of our Queen Margaret and her sons bring us to the beginning of a period when a series of able popes acquired a controlling influence in Europe; Mr. A. L. Smith's *Church and State in the Middle Ages* enables us to see how their influence was used to improve the semi-barbarous laws of the Northern nations. The theory of Innocent III, which was, in substance, the theory of our Reformers, may be studied in Innocent's writings, as embodied in Migne's *Patrologia*. For the larger issues of the Reformation, see Dr. Lindsay's and other general works; Dr. M'Giffert has traced the history

of Protestant thought. For our own Reformation, the six volumes of Knox's writings, edited by D. Laing, should be used. Queen Mary is the subject of many books; her early life has been well described by Miss Stoddart; for her reign Mr. D. Hay Fleming supplies a chronological record. Where Knox leaves off, we take up the vast compilation of Calderwood. Andrew Melville's *Life* by McCrie and James Melville's *Diary* are both important; see also the writings of Bruce, Spottiswood, and Henderson. From the Covenant onward, Baillie's *Letters* are of great value. Laud, of course, has several biographies; his own writings are a surprise to readers who have been taught to regard him as a weak-minded man. The Civil War is fully described by S. R. Gardiner, whose record is continued by C. H. Firth; see also Terry's *Life of Alexander Leslie*, and the numerous books about Cromwell. For the Restoration period the *Lauderdale Papers* and the *Lives* of Robert Leighton and Gilbert Burnet should be used. Popular books about the Covenanters require to be supplemented by some study of the documents; many of these are given by J. C. Johnston in his useful, though uncritical, *Treasury of the Scottish Covenant*. For the settlement of 1690, and for the subsequent legal adventures of our churches, A. Taylor Innes is a safe guide; it is interesting to compare the first and the second editions of his excellent book on the *Law of Creeds*. For the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, books are too numerous to be catalogued; every leader of opinion has an official biography, and the indispensable Dictionary refers the reader to the best sources of information.

CHAPTER I

THE FIRST CENTURY

A COMMUNITY which calls itself a Church is expected to prove its title, or, in other words, its connexion with the Society instituted by the Lord Jesus Christ and organized by His apostles. In its original form, the Society was a band of young men, gathering round a religious Teacher in whom they believed. Large numbers were attracted by the discourses of Jesus, and many were pressing into the Kingdom of which He spoke. Jesus needed help, and His chief helpers (those of them whose lives are known to us) were men of His own age and social position. They were raised above themselves by His presence and friendship, but the Evangelists make no effort to present them as perfect. Peter was the first exponent of error to whom the name of 'Satan' was applied. James and John were the first who proposed to burn unbelievers. It was the beloved disciple who dealt magisterially, and erroneously, with a man who invoked the Lord's name without formal permission. From this last incident we may perhaps infer that a Christian teacher who claims to fix with precision the boundaries of the Church, is claiming a power which St. John did not possess. As the number of His followers increased, the period of controversy began; trouble and danger were not far off. The moment had come to test the allegiance of His more intimate friends; at Caesarea Philippi the Lord puts the question on which everything depends: 'Whom say ye that I am?' and Peter answers, 'Thou art the Christ, the Son of the living God.' After the solemn blessing pronounced on Simon, son of Jonas, comes the personal address: 'Thou art Peter, and on this rock I will build My Church.' One man, with a heart to understand and a tongue to acknowledge the Truth, is and always must be the foundation of a new community. In response to Peter's declaration comes the promise of the Keys, 'I will give thee

the Keys of the Kingdom of Heaven': and the promise, annexed to this gift, which defines the extent of Peter's authority: 'Whatsoever thou shalt bind on earth shall be bound in heaven; and whatsoever thou shalt loose on earth shall be loosed in heaven.' The language here is borrowed from the rabbinical schools. When the rabbis insisted on the literal observance of a text, they 'bound' that matter for those who accepted their teaching; when they allowed an excuse or exception, they 'loosed' the rule which they expounded. On His return to Capernaum, the Lord intimated that all true disciples had a share in the powers conferred on Peter. The gift of the Keys was not repeated; but the Church, as a body, was empowered to compose disputes, and to this was added the power to bind and to loose. It is hardly correct to say that the gift of the Keys was a gift of jurisdiction. For jurisdiction, as lawyers know, means the power to interpret and apply the law with coercive effect; and on this point the teaching of our Lord is clear. We have His assurance that all power is entrusted to Him, in heaven and earth; but we have also to take account of the fact that He never exercised any coercive power. So far from forcing men to acknowledge His claim, He chose to identify Himself with the suffering servant of God. With a few simple words of explanation He disposed of the charge that He was a rebel, an enemy of the State. 'My Kingdom is not of this world.' Then as now the State claimed a monopoly of coercive authority: from it, and from it alone, jurisdiction is derived. But that was not the kind of authority exercised by the Son of God. He came to save His countrymen, not by driving out the Roman power, but by breaking the bonds of ignorance and sin.

The powers of the Church were not enlarged by the farewell promises of her Lord. There is the promise of the Holy Spirit, by whom we are to be guided into all truth; and there is the promise to remain with His Church: 'Lo, I am with you alway.' These texts have often been quoted by those who would vest an absolute authority in the men to whom the government of the Church is entrusted; but this theory is contradicted by every page of history. The Church will be

guided into all truth, but she is allowed to make many mistakes by the way. Our Lord is and always has been with His people ; but even in His presence the disciples go on arguing which of them is to be greatest, as they did in Galilee long ago.

So long as the Lord was visibly present, all matters of importance were referred to Him, and the Church needed little organization ; the only ' church-officer ' He appointed was the apostle or missionary. The full commission of the apostles is given in Matt. xxviii, where they are directed to make disciples, to baptize, and to teach ; nothing as yet is said of government. But when the company of believers resolved to continue their common life, the apostles had to take the lead in making rules and deciding disputes ; on occasion they even inflicted punishment on the unfaithful, as when Ananias and Sapphira were struck dead. In the Church as in the State, government has its origin, not in any express command or convention, but in the necessities of the people governed. To say this is not to deny the divine origin of authority, for necessity is only another name for divine providence. All legitimate authority is in its origin divine, but it is vested in fallible men, who need to be criticized, and sometimes to be restrained. Peter himself was criticized and resisted by Paul.

The *episkopè* or general oversight belonged at first to the Twelve. One attempt was made to keep up the number, as fixed by the Lord ; but the attempt was not repeated. When signs and wonders had ceased to appear, when the companions of the Lord had died out, the title of apostle fell into disuse. It has not been resumed in any considerable branch of the Church.

In the Church as in the Synagogue there were elders (presbyters), invested with powers of discipline and management. They shared the general oversight with the apostles, and St. Paul's address to the elders of Ephesus shows clearly that the same persons were styled presbyters and bishops. But certain of the duties connected with the general oversight were special in their nature. Where the presiding elder was recognized as chief pastor, these duties naturally fell to him. He guided the deacons in the administration of Church funds ;

he corresponded with other Churches; he tested candidates for baptism. We pass thus, by an easy and natural process, from the college of presbyters (dominated by apostolic influence) to the paternal bishop of the first or second century.

If we cannot say that the paternal bishop is the *legal* successor of the apostles, the historical succession is plain enough. There was urgent need for an order of men, qualified to do for the rapidly multiplying churches what St. Paul had done for Thessalonica and Corinth. We must bear in mind that each local Church was a little missionary institute, set down in the midst of a heathen population: the best safeguard of its faith would often be the fidelity and wisdom of its chief pastor.

Was the Church guided by the Holy Spirit when she accepted the paternal bishop as the type of her polity? The experience of the first three centuries seems to suggest an affirmative answer to this question. The cause of Christ is deeply indebted to those pioneer bishops who founded churches, maintained discipline, and in time of danger gave their lives for the flock.

Even at this early stage, we must distinguish carefully between episcopacy and prelacy. Episcopacy, as we have seen, is a form of government, possessing a strong claim on our respect and gratitude. Prelacy is a vice, and a vice which is not peculiar to the episcopal churches. It makes its appearance wherever a minister of the Word imagines that his office entitles him to exercise lordship over his brethren. It was in the Church from the first; for we remember how the companions of Christ disputed, which of them should be greatest; and how Salome asked that her sons should have the chief places in the Kingdom.

For us who are Gentiles, a special interest attaches to the letters addressed by St. Paul to the Churches of his own foundation. From these invaluable documents we can form a picture of the apostolic age; but we can mention here only three characteristic features of this apostle's teaching. The first is, the simplicity of the faith, as defined for purposes of membership and office. When his disciples ask for a test, to distinguish the true teacher from the false, he gives them a confession of faith which goes into a few lines. The form of sound words

which Timothy was to hold fast, was probably a short *catena* of the sayings of Jesus, as transmitted by oral tradition.

The second note of St. Paul's teaching is, his preoccupation with the moral and spiritual elements in religion. He gives few precise rules ; he says comparatively little of government. We learn from him that there ought to be presbyters in every Church ; that the whole Church is the tribunal for serious cases ; that offenders are punished by expulsion from fellowship ; obstinate offenders may be delivered over to Satan—a solemn form of condemnation which seems to have been followed by physical suffering. The germ of a distinction between clergy and laity appears in the plea that those who preach the gospel have a right to live by the gospel: but we must remember that Paul himself did not give up his handicraft ; he lived by that if he saw any risk of compromising his independence, or of laying a burden on his disciples.

The third point to notice is, that among religious duties a paramount place is given to brotherly love, and that the apostle is emphatic in censuring those who make parties or factions in the Church. When you make parties, he says, when you call yourselves after this or that leader, are you not carnal? are you not living like unregenerate men? The question goes straight to the root of the evil ; for those who make sects and schisms almost always do so on the plea that they are too spiritually minded to remain in communion with their brethren. ' Fidelity to Catholic truth ' or ' zeal for a pure testimony ' compels them to form a Church of their own. At the same time, their actions usually prove that they are influenced by carnal motives—the love of pre-eminence, the deep-seated combative instinct of unregenerate man.

The seventh decade of the first century was crowded with events which profoundly affected the Church. By the year 67 Peter and Paul were dead ; the Jews were in full revolt against Rome ; the Christians of Jerusalem had removed to Pella ; in 70 Jerusalem itself was destroyed.

In face of these changes the Church clung more closely to her written records—the best safeguard for the permanence of her teaching. Apostolic letters were preserved and studied ;

the Apocalypse helped the victims of persecution to believe that the powers of evil would not triumph in the end. We are permitted by good scholars to hold that the three synoptic Gospels were published between 70 and 80 : towards the end of those ten years we have the uninspired but interesting document known as the Epistle of Barnabas ; and we observe that the unknown Barnabas quotes Matthew with the preface ' It is written '. The Church already contemplated a new cycle of sacred writings, which would take rank with the scriptures of the Old Testament. Finally, we have the writings of St. John, which were probably composed or revised in the last decade of this century.

These new scriptures did not supersede the old, but we begin to perceive that the Church's reverence for the Old Testament (in itself right and laudable) was a source of danger when combined with faulty methods of interpretation. The Bible was treated as a sacred book, in the oriental sense of the term ; spiritualizing allegory was pushed far beyond the bounds of reason. St. Paul was the first to warn his fellow-Christians that the Old Testament is a dangerous book. The letter of it kills ; only the spirit gives life. How then shall we escape from the letter, and how can we attain to the spirit ? The early Church could not always cope with this problem, and in the course of time the Old Testament, wrongly expounded, became a storehouse of misleading precedents, the favourite manual of those who set themselves (often in perfectly good faith) to destroy the liberties of the Church.

CHAPTER II

THE SECOND CENTURY

The Apostolic Church had no regular relations with the State. Her ministers were banished, or driven from place to place, because their preaching led to disturbances, or because they were suspected of forming branches of a secret society. It was some time before the Roman authorities learned to distinguish between the Christian and the Jew; but by the end of the first century the Christians were recognized as a danger to the State: they were 'public enemies' or even 'enemies of the human race'. Some of them thought it wrong to serve in the army; they were all obstinate in refusing to pay any respect to the gods of the State, and especially to the deified Emperor. The common people spoke darkly of secret meetings, at which joyful reference was made to the end of the world—some terrible catastrophe from which only the Christians would escape.

Educated men may not have believed these rumours, but they could not ignore them. Religion was a necessary element in political allegiance and military discipline. Already a thousand superstitions were lurking in the dark corners of the Roman world; it was not at all desirable that this new foreign superstition should be added to the number. What government required of their people was only a formal compliance. To make a sign of respect, to burn a few grains of incense—if a man refused so easy a test, he must be a fanatic, and therefore dangerous to law and order.

The Church was entering on the era of great controversies, and the questions at issue were fundamental in their nature. If the Church was carried safely through the dangers of this age, we owe that result to the pastoral activity of the bishops. By the end of the second century, the paternal bishop was universally accepted as the guardian of the Faith. He might be an eminent scholar or a humble pastor, but in either case his chief duty was to his own flock. For their use he composed

or adopted a Rule of Faith, a short statement to be recited by adult candidates for baptism. In a later age the Rule of Faith, enlarged and to some extent systematized, was generally received under the name of the Apostles' Creed.

As between bishops, there was a kind of parity, but special importance was attached to the opinions of metropolitan churches, especially when a church of that rank claimed to have been founded by an apostle. There is some warrant in the New Testament for this usage; the Church at Antioch, as we know, consulted the Church at Jerusalem, and St. James in his reply wrote as one having authority: 'it seemed good to the Holy Ghost, and to us.' Wherever the spirit of prelacy found entrance, this kind of authority was pressed beyond the reasonable necessities of the Church. Metropolitan bishops assumed high titles, and promulgated decisions for which they claimed general obedience. This change must have begun in the second century; quite early in the third century we have Tertullian complaining that the Bishop of Rome called himself *episcopus episcoporum*. Even Tertullian did not question the tradition which connected the foundation of that see with St. Peter—a tradition very possibly historical, but mixed with legendary matter.

Amid all differences of opinion, there was a general disposition to accept the written Word of God as the supreme standard of belief and practice. But here the early Church had to face many difficulties. There was as yet no canon or authorized list of sacred writings, and the text of any particular book was liable to be altered, accidentally, or for a controversial purpose. Thus there begins the long process of deliberation, which resulted in the formation of a canon and an authorized text. The process involved an immense number of decisions on points of detail, and we have no sufficient warrant for assuming that all these decisions were so plainly dictated by the Spirit of God that they cannot be reviewed by the Church in the light of improved knowledge. The Spirit, one may hold, guided the early Church to attempt the formation of a canon; the same Spirit may guide the Church to revise some of her decisions in the light of that improved knowledge of history which was God's gift to the nineteenth century of our era.

CHAPTER III

THE THIRD CENTURY

Wherever the Christians were tolerated, they added to their numbers, and began to provide themselves with institutions. In the latter half of the third century, some churches were built, and some local communities had burial places of their own. The provision of fixed places of worship led naturally to some development of ritual, and this again must have emphasized the distinction between clergy and laity. The distinction was less visible then than it is now, for the clergy had no distinctive dress. They wore such garments as were worn by officials, or by men of the learned class.

When we review the history of the third century, two men stand out above the rest, and in their lives we may discern and try the spirit of the age. Origen, the unwearied student who began the scientific study of the Bible, was 'first among the Greeks'; but we need not scruple to admit that he carried speculation and allegory to a very dangerous extreme. Tertullian, first of the Latin fathers, was the victim of an impatient temper: he is the typical nonconformist, withdrawing into a small sect because he cannot endure the wickedness of the world and the worldliness of the Church. The uncontrolled activity of such men might be as dangerous to peace and unity as the hostile arguments of the Gnostics. This was the thought always present to the mind of Cyprian—an admiring student of Tertullian, inferior to his master in point of genius, equal in point of courage and sincerity. For the maintenance of order and unity Cyprian relied on the authority of the bishops. As a strict episcopalian, free from the suspicion of papalism, he has always been a favourite with Anglican divines.

Papalism, as yet, was only in the germ. The Bishop of Rome claimed to be the successor of St. Peter; but so did the Bishop of Antioch. The Church at Rome stood as high as any metro-

politan church, but when Victor, Bishop of Rome (185–97), excommunicated certain eastern bishops, he was reproved by the orthodox Irenaeus. When Cyprian wrote to Bishop Stephen, he wrote as to an equal, without the submissive respect which a modern Bishop of Carthage would be expected to display in addressing the pope.

The third century witnessed the first conspicuous advances of a movement which was destined to change the aspect, and to some extent the spirit, of Christendom.

Monastic ideas had received their full development in the East and especially in India, long before the Christian era. The ancient religion of India was imbued with the belief that the world of sense is an illusion : man attains to wisdom only by renouncing the pleasures of life. Thus the East has long been familiar with various types of holy men—the solitary hermit, the wandering mendicant, and the companies of men living under ascetic rules.

The weakness of the system is, that it makes holiness to depend on separation from humanity. Religion proves its power by hallowing the toils, the sorrows, and the pleasures which make up the lives of ordinary men. Periods of solitude are needed for the cultivation of personal religion, but a life wholly separate from others is useless and probably selfish.

Our Lord taught self-denial, by precept and example ; it may be that the Churches, and especially the Protestant Churches, have not realized the full scope of His teaching in this regard. His commands were addressed, not to any order of men, but to all His disciples, and they must be read along with the general doctrine, expounded in the Sermon on the Mount, that prayer, almsgiving, and ascetic restraint must be alike free from ostentation. When you fast, He says, wash your face and appear cheerfully among your neighbours ; *they* will not know of your self-denial, but God, who sees in secret, will reward you.

This injunction was forgotten when men and women went out in large numbers to desert places, where they took vows binding them to give their whole lives to austerities and holy exercises. They were constrained by the love of Christ, and

eager to obey Him, but they were misled by the example of Antony and others, whose self-inflicted sufferings were the theme of countless legends and sermons. When the first ardour of their devotion cooled, as it must often have done, the life of monk or nun became a painful routine ; the younger monks were tempted to enter on a wandering life, and to draw the alms of the faithful by various forms of imposture. These statements are not taken from enemies of the Church ; St. Augustine, a believer in the monastic principle, has left us a picture of the bad monk which might almost have been drawn by George Buchanan.

We know that in the third century this island must have witnessed the establishment of Christian communities. Constantius Chlorus, who took over the government of Gaul and Britain in its closing decade, was friendly to the Christians; his son Constantine was to follow him in the same path. Southern Britain claims to have been the home of some who gave their lives for Christ during the persecution of Diocletian.

CHAPTER IV

THE FOURTH CENTURY

The Church hoped that persecution was at an end when Constantine, proclaimed by the legions at York in 306, began to realize that repressive legislation was out of date. By the Edict of Milan in 311 the penal laws were abrogated, and liberty of worship was allowed.

The Church herself was torn asunder by differences of opinion, and Constantine set himself to devise forms of procedure which would bring disputed questions to a settlement. He began with the Donatist bishops in North Africa, who held stringent views as to the treatment of heretics, and of those who had given up their Christian profession under stress of persecution. At Constantine's request, the matter was referred to the Bishop of Rome, assisted by other bishops, and the Donatists were condemned. They were still unwilling to submit, and the case was taken to a larger Council, which met at Arles—the Roman decision was affirmed, but the Church in Africa was still unconvinced. This Council at Arles was attended by the Bishops of London, York, and Caerleon. There was no bishop from northern Britain ; very possibly there were no Christians in this part of our island.

Constantine, sole ruler of the Roman world, soon found an occasion for the exercise of his power over the Church. Arius, a presbyter of Alexandria, was delivering addresses and composing songs which gave deep offence to those who understood how far he was departing from the apostolic tradition. Parties were formed, and once more the Church was threatened with disintegration. The Emperor made up his mind to summon a council of bishops, numerous enough to impose its authority on both parties. He seems to have imagined that a compromise was still possible.

The Council met at Nicaea ; about 300 bishops were present ;

all but eight were eastern bishops ; the language of debate was Greek. Sylvester, Bishop of Rome, was too old to attempt the journey, but he sent two presbyters to represent him. The laity had no place in this or any subsequent council, but they were not wholly unrepresented, for laymen still took part in electing the bishop of each local church.

Of the 300 only twenty-two sided with Arius ; the rest were quite resolved to reaffirm the doctrine of the apostles, and to exclude the Arians from fellowship. The difficulty was, that the Arians readily agreed to repeat the ample formula used in the churches of Palestine ; they were also ready to accept and repeat all the scriptural titles of Christ. It was ascertained that the Greek word *Homoousios*, the word which asserts that the Son is of one substance with the Father, would be accepted by the majority, and that it would be rejected by the minority ; it was therefore inserted in the Creed, as prepared and sanctioned by the Council. The bishops were probably not well inspired when they made this addition to the standard of doctrine. The disputed word is not scriptural, and there were some who contended that it savoured of the heresy of Sabellius. But the main objection to it is, that it is a highly technical word, only to be understood by students of philosophy. It is therefore out of place in a formula, repeated or subscribed by the ordinary ministers and members of the Church.

Hardly anything was settled by the decision of the Council. Arius was defeated ; but the most striking victories of Arianism were gained after the council had framed its formula. An earnest endeavour was made to close an old controversy by prescribing how the date of Easter should be fixed, but the dispute smouldered on for centuries. If we ask why it was that on these and other points there could be no lasting peace, the answer is, that all parties were too keen to ' bite and devour ' their opponents : they pressed for immediate success where humility and brotherly love might have suggested further deliberation.

An impartial statesman, surveying the controversies of the second and third centuries, might have predicted that, if any of the contending bishops and teachers could obtain political

power, they would use it to suppress their opponents. When Constantine accepted the decrees of Nicaea, he placed his coercive powers at the disposal of those bishops with whom, for the moment, he agreed. If they had thought of purity as much as they thought of orthodoxy, they would have declined the imperial offer. They would have remembered that the Lord Himself never exercised coercive power, and that He had instructed them to follow His example in this respect. But the bishops of the fourth century were only men ; they seized the opportunity to establish their own doctrines, and to suppress erroneous opinions. Thus they became courtiers and politicians, flattering the monarch, bribing his servants, using the means whereby success in politics may be attained. They told the Christian emperors that it was their duty to defend the truth and to root out heresy. This principle involved consequences injurious, and indeed almost fatal, to the Church. If the State is guardian of the faith, the State must decide what punishments are necessary to secure conformity. Until the eighteenth century of our era, nearly all statesmen, schoolmasters, and parents acted on the erroneous theory that obedience is best secured by harsh and frequent punishments. In the course of this narrative we shall have occasion to see how it was that this theory struck root in the mind of Christendom, and how, after many generations, it was shaken by the humanitarian movement of the eighteenth century.

Ecclesiastical historians usually attempt to fix the discredit of persecution on the State. The attempt must always be a failure ; the original guilt of persecution lies at the door of the early Church. And the result of this blunder was not, as we sometimes express it, an alliance between Church and State : the proper term is not alliance but identification. On the one hand, the Church becomes an important branch of the civil administration ; the bishop is, in name and fact, *praelatus*, exalted over his fellow-men, and invested with political power. The bishops of the West rendered services of the utmost value to the modern State, but the Church had to pay a heavy price for their absorption in secular affairs. On the other hand, the State becomes the supreme authority in the Church, defining

her doctrines and fixing her rules of practice. On the first page of the Code the doctrine of the Trinity is stated, and those who deny it are warned that the Emperor will treat them as 'criminals and madmen'. Heresy thus became a kind of treason, and in 385 Priscillian (whose teaching, so far as we can judge, was both false and dangerous) and some of his adherents were put to death by the Emperor Maximus at Trèves. Ambrose and Augustine disapproved, but the death sentence was merely the logical application of principles which those great writers had themselves laid down. Augustine, as we all know, found the theory of persecution in the text, 'Compel them to come in'. He takes a sentence out of the middle of a parable; lays a didactic stress on language which is merely narrative; and deduces from it the practical lesson that kings may, and indeed must, use force to turn pagans into Christians, and heretics into orthodox Catholics.

Liberius, Bishop of Rome, was possibly orthodox in intention, but he lived in trying times, and incurred suspicion of heresy. Damasus (366–84) did something to restore the 'indefectible orthodoxy' of the Apostolic See.

Damasus was at least an active and capable administrator. He invited the learned Jerome to be his secretary, and in this way he helped to forward a very important undertaking, the provision of a good authorized version of the Scriptures in Latin. His reputation for orthodoxy was so well established that when lawyers had to define the Catholic faith they spoke of it as the faith held by Damasus the pontiff.

At almost every stage of her history, the Church at Rome has been active in missionary work. Even when her central government has been least satisfactory, her devoted ministers have been carrying the Gospel to distant nations, jeopardingtheir lives in the high places of the field. The heathen peoples, our own among the number, owe her a great debt of gratitude.

Towards the end of the pontificate of Damasus, a young man from Britain arrived in Rome and paid his respects to the bishop. His name was Ninian; his father was a chief among the British Celts; he wished to obtain the instruction and the official recognition which would enable him to evangelize the

people of northern Britain. He remained at Rome long enough to take orders, and in 393 Siricius consecrated him a missionary bishop. Scotland was thus brought into connexion with a bishop who has a place of his own in the history of the papal claims : Siricius is usually named as the first pope who intimated that when a local Church consulted the Bishop of Rome the answer must be accepted as a decree. Hence the importance attached to the Decretals, both genuine and forged, of which we shall have more to say in the sequel.

Tradition, rightly or wrongly, brings Ninian into relations with Martin, the famous Bishop of Tours. It is not unlikely that Northern Gaul may have furnished the intending missionaries with the ship which took them to Scotland, and with workmen who could build them a church. About the end of the fourth century, or the beginning of the fifth, they set forth on their voyage.

At the point where a ship ascending the Solway would turn to enter Wigtown Bay, there is a small peninsula, known to us as the Isle of Whithorn. This was probably the spot chosen by Ninian for his settlement, and the traces of building, still visible there, may indicate the site of *Candida Casa,* the great white church erected to the glory of God and in memory of St. Martin, who died in 397. Round this new centre of their religious life, the members of the community could build humbler dwellings for themselves.

Of Ninian's evangelizing work we know very little : the charming stories told of him are taken from a book written in the twelfth century, at a time when the monkish biographer studied edification rather than accuracy. If any converts were made among the Southern Picts they were likely enough to relapse into paganism, and if they did, they may have been the ' apostate Picts ' of whom St. Patrick wrote. The heathen tribes were in an aggressive mood ; for the bulk of the Roman legions had already been withdrawn ; the Picts and the Irish Scots were beginning to attack the northern frontier of Roman civilization.

CHAPTER V

THE FIFTH CENTURY

St. Augustine was baptized at Easter 387, and, since the conversion of St. Paul, there is no more important event in the history of the Church. For more than forty years he was the champion and the teacher of Western Christendom, and his authority remained unshaken until it was to some extent undermined by the humanitarian movement. His theology, codified, so to speak, by Calvin, has dominated the religious mind of Scotland.

We cannot here attempt to give any general account of Augustine's contribution to Christian thought, but one point of his doctrine is so important that no student of history can afford to leave it out of sight. He taught that the nature we inherit is depraved : man is so turned away from holiness that nothing but the grace of God can save him and turn him into the right way. This is a truth which the Christian conscience accepts ; it is, indeed, the beginning of all faithful preaching. But with a certain rigorous exaggeration (the characteristic note of the African Church) Augustine went on to teach that human nature is totally corrupt : the natural man has no good impulses or aspirations, and can perform no good act.

As to the truth of this doctrine, it is not for me to speak ; it certainly was attended by practical consequences of the most serious kind. If the ordinary man is wholly corrupt, it seemed obviously better not to consult his wishes in any way ; he will not conform to goodness unless he is placed under absolute authority in Church and State. The coercive power of the State was given to be used for men's highest good. *Compel them to come in* : Augustine's comment on these words may be said to have opened the era of deliberate and systematic persecution.

Augustine's doctrine of human nature was not established without opposition, and his most conspicuous opponent came

from our part of the world. Pelagius was undoubtedly a Celt—Irish Scot, or Welsh Briton, for the place of his birth is not known. He was a layman, living under some monastic rule, diligent in the study of Scripture, and especially of the writings of St. Paul. In middle life he visited Rome, and, like many who have made the same journey, he was grieved and shocked by the worldliness of the Roman clergy. He found them using the dominant theology in an antinomian spirit. We are sinful men, they said ; we inherit a corrupt nature ; we *cannot* live as we ought. ' If I ought I can,' said Pelagius, and there is a savour of truth in the saying, whatever importance may attach to the fact that a number of Eastern bishops, after long debate, acquitted Pelagius of heresy. Innocent, Bishop of Rome, condemned him ; Zosimus, the immediate successor of Innocent, hesitated ; Augustine joined with his African brethren in an application to the imperial government, and a decree was obtained from Ravenna which put an end to the controversy, so far at least as the Western Church was concerned. It is at first sight surprising to find these ecclesiastical persons inviting the State to define the doctrine of the Church, but they were passionately eager for conformity ; they relied on the civil sword to make a way for the true faith.

If the commanding figure of Augustine dwarfs all other churchmen in the first half of this century, Leo the Great is the foremost figure in the second half ; he was the first Bishop of Rome whose authority was generally recognized in the East and in the West. He was not a temporal prince, but a high place among the powers of Europe must be assigned to the bishop who turned the march of Attila and made terms with Genseric.

The invasions which alarmed the successive bishops of Rome were not without importance in the history of Celtic Christianity. Cut off from the centres of European civilization by inrolling waves of barbarism, the Scots and Britons continued to cultivate sacred learning and to develop their own institutions. What Ninian did for Scotland Patrick tried to do for Ireland ; a well-known letter of the evangelist of Ireland is addressed to Ceretic or Coroticus, King of the British Celts who lived in the western

country between the Clyde and the Derwent. Like other early missionaries, Patrick found it easier to make conquests than to keep them; he is especially vehement in denouncing the 'apostate Picts'.

Wherever the gospel was preached, the monastic idea took possession of the Celtic mind. Large numbers of men and women gave themselves to the religious life. The Irish abbeys of which we read were merely rows of humble cabins; the abbot lived among his monks like a chief among his tribesmen. There were, apparently, bishops in Ireland; the legends present us with bishops in embarrassing profusion; but the chief powers of government were vested in the abbot, who was usually a presbyter; in communities of women the abbess was chief. When the Irish spoke with reverence of the distant Patriarch of the West, they called him the Abbot of Rome.

The time came when the independence of the Celtic churches exposed them to the suspicion of heresy; it is not unlikely that opinions of Pelagian or other local origin may have obtained some currency. In 429 St. Germanus came from Gaul to stamp out heresy in Wales; his success was possibly less complete than the orthodox annalist supposed.

During the fifth century the lamp which Ninian kindled at Whithorn was not allowed to go out. Many young Irishmen made the short sea-voyage, and became scholars there: the saints from whom Columba derived the monastic tradition had received at least some part of their training in Scotland.

CHAPTER VI

THE SIXTH CENTURY

In tracing the general history of the Church we have already had occasion to note the widening schism between East and West. This disastrous difference was largely the result of difference of language, for, while the eastern half of Christendom retained the early Fathers and the Greek text of the Bible, Rome and Africa found expression for their thoughts in Latin, and were content with the Vulgate. Many eastern bishops had adopted Monophysite opinions ; they held that Christ has but one nature, in which the divine and the human are united, whereas it is orthodox to say that our Lord has two natures. On this point controversy was keen ; before the end of the fifth century the bishops of Rome had broken off all communion with the bishops of Constantinople. But successive invasions had impoverished Italy ; the authority of Rome was less than it had been in Leo's time ; the centre of the Empire was now the new capital on the Bosphorus.

Justin, a plain soldier whom the army had placed on the throne, was prepared to make an effort to restore the unity of the Church ; for the disorderly Councils of the fourth and fifth centuries had shown that the usefulness of bishops and presbyters was much impaired by their perpetual disputations. In framing his plan of reunion, Justin had the valuable assistance of his nephew Justinian, a 'staid, passionless bureaucrat', imbued with the idea that the Emperor was the final judge to whom all disputed questions ought to be referred. In his turn he became Emperor himself, and throughout his reign (528–65) he laboured to reconcile his subjects by bringing them all into obedience to himself.

The chief monument of his reign is the *Corpus Iuris*, and in that huge compilation we may study the features of a Christian polity in which the Church was definitely subordinated to the State. Justinian compelled his pagan subjects to receive

baptism ; heretics were required to profess the orthodox faith. When the Bishop of Rome in his turn became the centre of a polity in which the State was definitely made subject to the Church, the princes of Europe turned to the *Corpus Iuris* for arguments against him. In due time we shall find the Scottish Reformers asking the State to give them the benefit of the ' godly approved laws of Justinian '.

When we turn from the court of Justinian and Theodora to the north-western verge of civilization, we have little exact information to guide us, but amid the confused warfare of tribes and kingdoms we can discern the servants of God, going on steadily with their work. During the early years of the sixth century the monastic movement made rapid progress in Ireland ; and there were new ties of connexion between the sister island and our own. Scots from Ulster were carving out a kingdom for themselves on the west coast of Scotland—a kingdom which had a future before it.

About the middle of the century, Kentigern left the monastic school at Culross and set out to evangelize the British Celts of Strathclyde. He met with some success, but there came a time when paganism again had the upper hand ; Kentigern went south into Cumbria, then into Wales, where he founded a large community at Llanelwy. When his friends had the upper hand, Kentigern came north, to settle for a time at Hoddam in Annandale, and before his death he was back beside the Molendinar (the millburn), living perhaps on the site of the cathedral afterwards dedicated to his memory. Through all the west country he was remembered as St. Mungo (the darling saint). Of his miracles little need be said here, though four of them still figure in the city arms of Glasgow. His mother, Thenog, is commemorated under the masculine appellation of St. Enoch.

Jocelyn, writing the life of Kentigern some five centuries after his death, states that the older biographies contained a few things contrary to the Catholic faith. The bounds of orthodoxy were more precisely laid down in Jocelyn's time than they were by our Celtic evangelists, but we may hope that there was nothing in the doctrine of St. Mungo to make a breach of communion between him and us.

On May 12, 563, being Whit Sunday, Columba came, with twelve companions, and landed on the small island of Iona, his home for the remaining thirty-four years of his life. He was at this time a man over forty, connected by birth with the best people in Ulster, already known as the founder of many religious communities, chief of which were Derry in the north and Durrow in Meath. His noble presence and musical voice cast a spell over the people who listened to him. Columba left his own country, partly perhaps because of quarrels which do not concern us now, but chiefly because he was a missionary, eager to advance his Master's Kingdom. At Iona he was near his kinsmen, the Scots in Argyll ; King Conal protected the little company of monks, and King Aidan went to Iona to receive his crown. But the main object of Columba's missionary life was the conversion of the northern Picts. The true history of this achievement is known to us only in outline ; the miracles freely attributed to this Irish saint only obscure the human interest of the story. In simple reliance on the power of God, Columba made his way to the stronghold on Loch Ness, where King Brude had his capital ; the champions of paganism were worsted or won over, and the gospel was preached to the Picts. Within their own island Columba and his monks lived a life of rigid self-denial and constant industry. Their dwellings were of the humblest kind ; if there was any attempt at ornament it must have been in the chapel, where the brethren met for prayer at all the stated hours, or at any moment during the day or night, if the Abbot called them. Every brother took part in the work of the field or the sheep-cotes, and the good penmen were kept busy making copies of the Psalms and the Gospels ; Columba himself is said to have made 300 copies of the Gospels. All powers of government were exercised by the abbot ; but, if a bishop visited Iona, Columba received him with honour, and gave him the chief place in celebrating the divine mysteries. The Rule under which the brethren lived and worked was one of great simplicity ; it does not rank with the elaborate code of discipline which the genius of St. Benedict had imposed on the monasteries of Italy and Gaul.

In the thirtieth year of his residence at Iona, Columba began

to feel that the end of his work was near ; he was spared to his ' family ' four years longer, but when the summer of 597 came in, he knew that the parting must be soon. He was making yet another copy of the Psalms, and he had written as far as the words, ' They that seek the Lord shall not want any good thing.' ' Here,' he said, ' I make an end ; the rest let Baithen write.' The 8th June was the Sabbath (Saturday) ; he spent it in saying a kind farewell to the scene of his long labours ; and on the morning of the Lord's day he entered into rest.

Of his companions several are remembered for good service of their own. Cormac the Navigator carried the Gospel to many distant islands ; and Machar fared on foot from one strath to another until he came to a ' winding river '—the Dee ; beside that river he built a famous church which still bears his name.

Some years before Columba's death, Ethelbert, King of the Kentishmen, had made himself the chief power in England south of the Humber. His queen, Bertha, was a Frank by birth, and a Christian ; she brought the Bishop of Senlis with her to be her chaplain. They formed plans for the evangelization of Britain, and any such plan was sure to be welcomed by the great bishop who sat in the chair of Leo.

Gregory was a man of good family who had given up wealth and high office to become a monk in the Benedictine Monastery of St. Andrew at Rome. He was still a simple monk when he saw the fair-haired captives from Anglia put up for sale in the slave-market : ' Not Angles but angels ', said Gregory, and he would have started at once for Britain ; but his life was otherwise ordered by his superiors. In 590 the clergy, senate, and people unanimously chose him to be their bishop ; he was unwilling to accept, but his resistance was overcome, and during the fourteen years of his pontificate he gave the people no reason to repent of their choice. He used the prerogatives of his office with energy, and, on the whole, with good effect. He was grieved to hear that his rival at Constantinople was assuming the title of universal bishop, and pointed out that such assumption was very unlike the behaviour of St. Peter. On the vexed question of patronage his policy was decided and,

I think, wise: he held that a wealthy landowner who built a church retained no right over that church, except the right of attending the services. If Gregory's opinion had prevailed, we should have been spared many troublesome arguments.

Like many eminent administrators, this vigorous pontiff was a man of rather narrow intellectual interests. Though a diligent student and a voluminous writer, he always regarded the Bible, not as the historical record of an ever-widening revelation, but rather as a store-house of proof-texts: he could find all the points of the Roman system in the book of Job, or indeed in any book whatever. He was extremely credulous, and fond of stories about apparitions and so forth; the mind of Christendom was dwelling more and more on unfounded notions about the next world.

In the year of Columba's death (597) Gregory was able to carry out his long-cherished design. For the leader of his mission he chose Augustine, the prior of his own convent, a good man, too formal for a missionary, and too eager to assert the Roman claims; he offended the Welsh bishops by remaining seated when they came to see him. Any defects in his work were soon made good by the arrival of another band of missionaries, who brought with them vestments, relics of the apostles and martyrs, and many books. St. Paul's, London, and St. Andrew's, Rochester, were the base of operations for the campaign against heathenism. Gregory wished London to be the seat of the chief bishop, but the Kentishmen were determined to keep the metropolitan see in their own country, and they have kept it at Canterbury to this day.

CHAPTER VII

THE SEVENTH CENTURY

If the Celtic Churches lost something of their heroic simplicity by the arrival of Roman ecclesiastics among them, they also gained in efficiency. The newcomers represented a Church not wholly given over to monastic influences, but strongly organized on diocesan and parochial lines. The new bishops and clergy were all imbued with the idea that a Church which differed from Rome on any point of doctrine or practice must be outside the pale of Catholic order. Ever since the time of Pelagius, the Irish and Welsh were suspected of laxity in doctrine, but of this little was heard in the debates which now began: the controversy turned on two points of practice.

In the first place there was a question about the tonsure of the clergy. In the Eastern Church the practice was to shave or close crop the whole head; the Roman clergy, then as now, shaved a circle on the top of the head. Columba and his 'family' shaved the front of the head; this they called the tonsure of St. John; their adversaries called it the tonsure of Simon Magus.

A second point of difference related to the proper time for celebrating Easter. In some Christian Churches the fourteenth day of the month corresponding to the Hebrew Nisan was observed as the day of the Crucifixion, and the sixteenth as the day of the Resurrection. The Scots and Britons were not Quartodecimans; they always kept the Easter festival on a Sunday; but they had not adopted the new rule, promulgated at Rome, by which the calendar was reformed. The Roman missionaries naturally wished to see their own calendar adopted; they regarded it, not without reason, as a valuable element in church life. For, if the chief events in the lives of our Lord and His apostles are commemorated by the whole Church on

certain days, the instruction of the people will be all the more thorough and well-grounded.

During the seventh century, the leading churches of Ireland and Wales conformed, one after another, to the Roman rules ; the movement may have been accelerated by Honorius, Bishop of Rome (625–638), who threatened the non-conforming party with excommunication : a high-handed act, which came with an ill grace from a pope who was himself so far from orthodox that his doctrine was condemned by his successors. But the more scholarly of the Irish teachers began to find arguments for accepting the ' Catholic ' system ; one proof of this is the *Apology* of Cummian, written in 634. Ireland conformed ; Wales followed rather slowly ; Iona continued to follow the tradition of Columba.

The process by which these islands were brought into line with their continental neighbours may best be understood if we endeavour to trace the fortunes of Northumbria—the middle kingdom which included Bernicia (the Lothians and Berwickshire) and Deira (England, as far south as the Tees).

In 617, Ethelfrith, King of Northumbria, was slain in battle. His sons, Eanfrith, Oswald, and Oswy, found a home with the monks at Iona ; there, it seems, they were baptized, and there they were kindly brought up.

Their absence left the field clear for Edwin, who made himself a great power, and ruled from Edwin's Burgh on the Forth even to the south of England. His wife Ethelburga was a Kentish princess, a Christian who prayed for the conversion of her husband. Long and anxious were the discussions between the King and his chief men ; and one evening as they talked a chief uttered words which have not been forgotten. He compared the brief life of man to a bird, flying in at the window of the lighted hall, and flying out into the dark. If the new teachers could tell anything of what was dark to Edwin and his men, were it not well to listen ? The King listened and believed ; in 627 he was baptized in the wooden church of St. Peter at York. Six years later he was killed, fighting against the heathen Penda.

The sons of Ethelfrith claimed their father's kingdom; when Eanfrith fell by treachery, Oswald led their army across what we call the Border, and at his camp near Hexham he set up a cross, the first Christian symbol erected in that region. Accepted as King of Northumbria, he set himself to evangelize his pagan subjects, and he turned to his old friends at Iona for help. After one unsuccessful experiment, he obtained the man whom Northumbria needed—Aidan, first Bishop of Lindisfarne. Aidan, it appears, knew no English, but the King himself acted as interpreter; the people were won, not only by the word spoken, but by the humble and holy life of the preacher. In 642 Oswald in his turn was killed in battle, and the kingdom passed to his brother Oswy, who extended the power of Northumbria, so that even the Picts and Scots yielded him some kind of obedience.

In 651 Cuthbert, a shepherd lad, watching his flock beside the Leader, saw St. Aidan borne to heaven by angels: he went at once to the monks at Melrose, was kindly received by the prior Boisil (St. Boswell), and entered at once on his novitiate. The place of his training was the old Abbey of Melrose, a monastery of the simple Columban type, far less imposing than the Cistercian abbey of a later age. Cuthbert was a true monk, who spent no small portion of his time in fasting and prayer; but he was also a preacher of the Word, and he wandered many days among the upland villages, where the people listened gladly to his message.

In 655 Oswy and his son Alchfrith defeated their enemies in a great battle; the redoubtable Penda was killed. King and prince were apparently still content with the customs of Iona; Alchfrith brought the monks of Melrose to Ripon, so as to strengthen the Columban party in southern Northumbria. The Queen, Eanfled, was a daughter of Edwin and Ethelburga; she held to the Roman calendar; and her chaplains pointed out how irregular it was that the King should be keeping the Easter feast while they were still observing the rigours of Lent. Wilfrid, the son of a Northumbrian thane, was studying under the bishop at Lindisfarne; he was encouraged to go to Kent, and finally to Rome, for the completion of his training,

and he came back a devoted champion of conformity. Alchfrith was won over, and proved his Catholic zeal by turning out the monks of Ripon to make a place for Wilfrid. The King probably began to see that his advantage lay in an alliance with the prevailing party; but before deciding he thought it right to summon a meeting of his clergy.

In 664 the parties met at the Synod of Whitby. Colman, Bishop of Lindisfarne, defended the Columban tradition; Wilfrid argued for the Roman rules. Iona, he said, might rely on St. John, a great apostle, but not so great as St. Peter. Columba might have been a saint, but who could compare him with the saint to whom our Lord gave the Keys of His Kingdom? Oswy, turning to the Scots, asked them whether it was true that Peter had the Keys. This they could not deny; and the King declared that he would side with Peter, lest there should be none to let him into heaven. Colman and some of his companions were not convinced; with heavy hearts they began to sever the ties which bound them to Northumbria; they would go to Iona, where their brethren still walked in the old paths. Cuthbert, with many others, remained in England and conformed.

Wilfrid lived more than forty years after his triumph at Whitby; his career was interesting and eventful, but it belongs to the history of England. He was the first English bishop who carried an appeal to Rome when his immediate superiors decided against him. He may have had good reason for contending that the King and the metropolitan were not doing him justice, but his appeal was one step in the process of over-centralization which ultimately caused the northern nations to withdraw their obedience from the Apostolic See. Wilfrid was at Rome in 679, during the preparations for the sixth General Council, held at Constantinople in the following year—the Council which condemned Honorius.

Even at Iona there were signs of a coming change. Adamnan, the biographer of Columba, was abbot from 679 to 704. As a man of wisdom and piety, he was often summoned to assist in mitigating the ferocity of the constant tribal wars, or in settling disputes between the churches. In 688 he visited

Northumbria, and on his return he began to prepare the minds of his brethren for a gradual abandonment of the Irish customs which separated them from Ripon, and now from Lindisfarne. The small community was divided, but Adamnan's methods were gentle and considerate ; he retained his authority until his death.

CHAPTER VIII

THE EIGHTH CENTURY

When Adamnan died, Columbans and conformists drew apart, and the schism resulted in the election of rival abbots: this unhappy state of things lasted till 772; the efforts of Egbert, a Saxon monk who laboured to reconcile the parties, produced only a temporary truce.

The emissaries of Roman authority were not content with their success in Northumbria; they pushed far to the north, and obtained a favourable hearing from Nechtan, King of the Picts. In 717 that king 'drove out the family of Columba', and conformed to Catholic rules. Some of the vacant places were filled by conforming Scots from Ireland.

During the first half of the eighth century, the Angles of Northumbria extended their rule over the Gaels or Picts of Galloway. They restored the see of Whithorn, and Pecthelm was the first of a line of English bishops.

At this point contemporary evidence begins to fail us; the Venerable Bede laid down his pen in 735, and there was none to continue his invaluable work. We must try to imagine the Church in Scotland as she then was, upholding the Faith as she had opportunity, but lacking in organization and discipline. In England, Wilfrid had begun the introduction of a 'secular' clergy, living in the world and charged with the care of parishes, but Scotland had not arrived at that stage of development. Opposition to Rome died out, or was crushed out, but there were many who retained an affectionate memory of the old tradition. In other countries the wandering Scot came to be regarded as an irregular person; his orders were doubted, and his orthodoxy was open to question.

The simple buildings in which the great missionaries had dispensed the sacraments were still sufficient for their successors. It may be that Scotland was not, at the moment, much con-

cerned with the controversy about images, which was agitating the East and the West; but historians have noted that one sign of advancing Roman influence was the increasing reverence paid to relics of the saints. This dubious form of piety was connected with primitive notions about property; for, if the reputed bones of a holy person were kept above ground in a jewelled shrine, there was something tangible and striking to remind the unlearned that the church belonged to the saint, and that those who molested his representatives would incur his resentment.

The Church of Rome has rendered noble service in the evangelization of the world; but, like other missionary churches, she has been tempted to think too much of visible success. To attract the pagan tribes, she made large concessions to popular sentiment and popular credulity. Saints were multiplied out of all reason, until every church had its tutelary sub-divinity. But God left not Himself without a witness, and the Church at her worst was never so lax in point of morals as the old polytheistic religions had been.

Before the eighth century closed, the monks of Iona had to face a new invasion, which threatened the total destruction of the Church in this part of the world. The Vikings—the Bay Men who launched their ships from the bays and fiords of the north—began their marauding voyages. The Irish saints had lived by preference on islands, where they were not in close contact with the fighting men of their own kin: but the isles lay right in the track of enemies who came by sea.

CHAPTER IX

THE NINTH CENTURY

For a time we hear of nothing but havoc and dismay. Iona was plundered again and again; the Abbot Blathmac was killed at the altar, because he would not say where the treasure of his monastery was concealed. The sea-rovers came and went as they pleased; they settled at places which took their fancy, so that the harbours of Ireland became the chief maritime stations of a Danish province, and the princess Otta delivered heathen prophecies from the high altar at Clonmacnoise. Every place on the seaboard of Scotland was now unsafe, and the powers of the country drew towards the central region which we call Perthshire and Fife. Constantine, King of the Picts, built or enlarged a church at Dunkeld, which became the head-quarters of the Columban clergy. But by this time the Columban tradition was to some extent corrupted. The perpetual wars gave opportunity to laymen, calling themselves 'heirs of Columba' and the like, to take over the defence, and the revenues, of abbeys and churches.

It was in the ninth century that the partisans of the old Irish monastic system began to be known as Culdees (companions or servants of God), a revered name round which some legends have gathered. They have been regarded as early Protestants, preserving a pure gospel, and objecting to the superstitions of Rome. They were in fact conservative Celts, who disliked the ecclesiasticism of which Canterbury was now the type and model; but their own practice was not such as any of our modern churches would care to copy. During several centuries we shall find small bodies of Culdees holding their own in some monasteries and cathedral chapters; but the suspicions of their Roman opponents were not altogether unreasonable. We may notice that in 813 a Council at Châlons refused recognition to the Scots clergy, and that in 816 the Council of Chelsea forbade them to officiate in English dioceses.

So far as Scotland is concerned, the striking event of the ninth century is the success of Kenneth MacAlpin. His father was King of Scots, but when Kenneth came to his inheritance in 834 he was at first only Lord of Galloway. Ten years of effort made him King of Scots, and two years later he compelled the submission of the Picts—a judgment on them, some said, for Nechtan's cruelty to the family of Columba. When Kenneth's power was at its height, he ruled from Caithness to the Forth : the places where he fixed his court or camp were Forteviot and Scone. He brought the relics of Columba to Dunkeld, which thus acquired a kind of primacy. Indrecht, Abbot of Iona, was killed ' by Saxons ' on his way to Rome in 854 ; he is described as the last abbot who had the primacy.

Constantine, son of Kenneth, removed the seat of the bishopric from Dunkeld to Abernethy, and thence it was again removed to Kilrymont, which we call St. Andrews. After Constantine's death there was a period during which power passed into the hands of Eocha and of Grig or Gregory, the first king who ' gave liberty to the Scottish Church ', a phrase which probably indicates that he exempted the clergy from rendering tribute or military service in respect of their lands.

There is one stage in the development of the papacy which ought to be briefly mentioned here. About the middle of the ninth century began the publication of a series of forged documents, which afterwards served as the basis of the canon law. Without the forged Decretals the papal autocracy of the Middle Ages could hardly have been founded, and when the fraud was exposed the revolt against Roman authority became inevitable.

CHAPTER X

THE TENTH CENTURY

The tenth century was a very important period for those Scots who lived in it, but it furnishes little material for ecclesiastical history. There was a political question to be settled before the churches could make any progress. Britain and Ireland were parcelled out among petty princes and chiefs, and it cost much hard fighting to draw the tribes together into larger and more durable forms of union.

Constantine II, grandson of Kenneth MacAlpin, became King of Alban in 904. Five years later he met Kellach, Bishop of the Scots, at Scone, and there on the 'hill of belief' the King swore to observe 'the laws and discipline of the faith and the rights of the churches and the gospels'—meaning probably the rights confirmed by an oath on the gospels, or by placing a sod of the dedicated land on the holy book.

Constantine's policy brought him into conflict with Athelstan, and when the English king moved northward in 937 the Scots of Alban were among the allied armies which fled in confusion from the bloody field of Brunanburh. In 943 Constantine laid down the burden of sovereignty to become a monk at St Andrews: he was succeeded by Malcolm I.

In 970 Kenneth, son of Malcolm, 'gave the great city of Brechin to the Lord'; he may have built the round tower there. The Church of the Scots retained some of its Celtic peculiarities; at the Synod of Calne in 977 there was one bishop from the north who stood out against the authority of Dunstan, Archbishop of Canterbury.

If we extend our survey to the Churches of the continent, we perceive that the tenth century was a period of depression and recovery. The growing worldliness of the papal court and the religious orders weighed on the consciences of many good men, and led them to work and pray for a reformation. In

Gaul and Germany the best monastic houses (beginning with Cluny, which was founded in 912) were labouring to make the Rule of St. Benedict a reality, and not merely an excuse for idleness; and the Cluniac movement was supported by the more earnest of the laity.

Some students of prophecy had fixed the year 1000 as a suitable date for the end of the world; but it is not for us to know the times or the seasons which the Father has put in His own power.

CHAPTER XI

THE ELEVENTH CENTURY

When the eleventh century opened, Kenneth III was reigning in Alban, but his reign came to an end in 1005, when he was defeated and slain by Malcolm, son of Kenneth II. This Malcolm is the last male representative of Kenneth MacAlpin, and the first to whom the territorial title ' King of Scotland ' was applied. His most formidable neighbour was the earldom of Northumbria, but when he attempted a raid in that direction he was repulsed with great slaughter by Uchtred, son of Waltheof. Taught by adversity, Malcolm made alliances with the Danish earls in the north, and with the Britons of Strathclyde ; in 1018 he defeated Uchtred's brother in a great battle, fought at Carham on the Tweed. When the battle was over, the King of Scotland made many oblations to the churches : he had reason to rejoice, for his victory went far to secure the independence of his country. If the line of the Border had been drawn from Forth to Clyde, the Highlands might have become another Ireland, a loose aggregate of Celtic tribes, imperfectly governed by the English. But the line, as ultimately fixed, ran from Tweed to Solway, and the Lothians thus became the lowland province from which English institutions, ecclesiastical and civil, were extended in time over the north and west. Yet, though Malcolm had made a considerable kingdom, he was not the paramount power even in northern Britain. When Canute, the Danish conqueror of England, visited Scotland in 1031, all the native rulers—including Malcolm and Macbeth—had to give in their submission.

When Malcolm died, in 1034, he left no son to take up the succession. His daughter Bethoc was married to Crinan, lay abbot of Dunkeld, and her son Duncan wore the crown for a few uneasy years ; a younger daughter was the wife of

Sigurd, Earl of Orkney, a Danish warrior recently converted to the Christian faith ; her younger son Thorfinn was Earl of Caithness and Sutherland.

We are all familiar with Shakespeare's Duncan ; of the real Duncan little is known. His northern rivals combined against him ; in 1040 he was slain, and Scotland was divided between Macbeth and Thorfinn. It is not certain that Macbeth was guilty of treachery ; on the other hand it is possible that remorse was the motive which induced him, ten years after Duncan's death, to make a pilgrimage to Rome. He went the round of the holy places ; gave large sums to the poor ; and returned safely to his distant kingdom.

If Macbeth knew enough to discuss the current politics of Rome, he must have realized that important events were in progress. In 1033 the papacy had fallen so low that the leaders of a local faction were able to place a boy of twelve in the papal chair. This and other scandals led to the intervention of the good Emperor Henry III, a steady patron of the Cluniac reform. We may note in passing that this emperor's niece Agatha became the wife of an English prince and the mother of our own Queen Margaret.

Not long before Macbeth's visit, the reforming party in Rome was notably strengthened when Bruno, Bishop of Toul, was chosen Pope and assumed the title of Leo IX. During this and three succeeding reigns, the most powerful individual in the Church was the cardinal-subdeacon Hildebrand, who shaped the policy of the papal court. Hildebrand also was a reformer ; he was determined to hold the monastic orders to a strict observance of their vows ; the parochial clergy were to be brought under discipline by the rigid enforcement of sacerdotal celibacy. The injunctions of authority met with a good deal of passive opposition ; and from the first it was evident that the rigour of ecclesiastical theory would involve much laxity in practice. The lay members of the Church were for the most part in favour of imposing a strict rule on the clergy ; it seemed right that the men who dispensed the divine mysteries should be men set apart, holy in the technical sense of the word.

Macbeth's pilgrimage may have lightened his conscience, but it did not secure him a long reign. Malcolm, son of Duncan, had found a home with Siward, Earl of Northumbria, the toughest fighting man of his time. In 1057 the earl and his guest invaded Scotland, Macbeth was slain, and Malcolm took his father's throne; in the same year he strengthened his power in the north by marrying Ingibrorg, the widow of his kinsman Thorfinn.

The Northmen who had wrought so much havoc in the earth were by this time civilized; they had carved out kingdoms and duchies in the more desirable parts of Europe; they accepted the Christian faith in its Catholic and Roman form.

In 1066 William, Duke of Normandy, came to England with the Pope's benediction, to prosecute his claim to the crown of Edward the Confessor. His rapid success revealed the weakness of the English polity; his subsequent measures showed how strong the English constitution might be made, when it was held together by an efficient central government. But, strong as he was, the Conqueror was not strong enough to bring this island under one government. He left the 'Celtic fringe', and he gave very little of his time to Scotland.

When Harold fell at Senlac, Edgar the Atheling was chosen King of the English, but the election was only a form. Unable to resist the invader, Edgar made his way to Dunfermline, where Malcolm held his court; he was accompanied by his mother Agatha, and by his sisters, Margaret and Christina. Ingibrorg was dead, and it soon became evident that the King of Scots had fixed his affections on the princess Margaret; they were married at Dunfermline, and in memory of this happy event a church was built, and dedicated to the Holy Trinity.

In 1072 William marched north, as far as Abernethy, to receive the submission of Scotland. He had Normandy and England on his hands; he did not purpose to add the highland clans to his responsibilities; so Malcolm swore what was required of him, and things in Scotland went on much as before.

Margaret was a good wife and a good mother; skilled in all womanly arts; a kind friend to the poor. She was also

learned, at least as compared with Scottish ladies of that period; the King who could not read handled with reverence the manuscript books which lay on his wife's table. It grieved her to know that her husband and his people were still standing out against Catholic rules, and she longed to bring them to a better mind. She applied to Lanfranc, the able Italian prelate whom the Conqueror had placed in the see of Canterbury, and English monks were sent to her aid. A conference was held to discuss the points of difference; the King, who spoke English and Gaelic, acted as interpreter. There is nothing unreasonable in the changes which the Queen proposed to the Scots clergy. She wished them:

(1) To begin Lent at the same time as other Churches.

(2) To receive the Communion at Easter. The Scots spoke of their sins; doubted their worthiness to receive; the Queen reminded them that, because we are sinners, the Lord invites us to His table.

(3) To give up 'barbarous rites'. The phrase probably indicates old-fashioned Gaelic or Latin forms of service, associated, perhaps, with the traditional heresies of the Celtic Churches.

(4) To abstain from work on the Lord's day.

(5) To adopt a stricter rule as to the marriage of persons related by affinity. It appears that the Celtic Churches would even permit a man to marry his stepmother, or his brother's widow.

At the conference the Queen was no doubt able to carry her proposals, but it was long before the Gaelic Churches were brought into line with their neighbours. Malcolm had much hard fighting to do, and Margaret's life must have been full of anxieties and dangers. We have an excellent biography of her, written probably by her favourite adviser Turgot, Prior of Durham, a solid Lincolnshire man, whose efforts on behalf of the Church in Scotland brought but little comfort to himself. His book is not free from the element of pious fiction which so often impairs the human interest of ecclesiastical histories, but in the main his narrative is a true picture of what this Christian princess was.

In the year 1093 Malcolm was present at the consecration of the new cathedral at Durham ; he also went to Gloucester to speak with William Rufus, but, on finding that he was expected to do homage and fealty for his northern kingdom, he left without seeing the English king. Returning to his own country, he was induced to undertake a raid into Northumbria ; in this unhappy expedition he and his son Edward lost their lives. Margaret was lying ill in the castle at Edinburgh ; when she heard that her husband was dead, she bowed to the will of God and yielded her soul to Him. Malcolm's enemies were not far away, but under cover of the November mist the Queen's body was conveyed to the Queen's Ferry (where she had built rest-houses for pilgrims going to St. Andrews) and laid in the great church at Dunfermline. The relics of Margaret and Malcolm were moved from one place to another, until at last Philip of Spain lost them, as he lost many other things. They may be in the Escurial, but they have not been found.

While Malcolm and Margaret were labouring in their vocation, the nations were moved this way and that by the two authorities which contested and shared supreme power—the papacy and the national State. Nationalism proved itself *de facto* the stronger principle of the two.

Hildebrand became Pope (Gregory VII) in 1073 ; during the twelve years of his reign he pressed the claims of his office with unwavering confidence. He claimed the obedience of kings, expressly on the ground that, as head of the Church, he was infallible. He said, and believed, that neither he nor any of his predecessors had ever made a mistake. When the Pope in our day makes a similar statement, he makes it with qualifications, because he has to consider the ' small but well-armed tribe ' of historical experts. But in Gregory's time history was not critically studied ; he needed no saving clauses. He had his moments of triumph ; in the cold January of 1077 he kept the Emperor waiting barefoot in the snow at Canossa. A few years later, the Emperor was in possession of Rome, and the aged pontiff was driven into exile.

For an illustration of the strength of nationalism we may

look to England, and we ought to note carefully the rules by which the Conqueror guided himself in his relations with Rome. As a Norman he was willing to fight for the papacy ; but he made the Church of England a national church, and protected it against papal interference. No Pope was to be acknowledged without his command ; no bull or brief was to be received unless it had been shown to the King ; no synod might enact anything without his previous sanction ; no censure could be pronounced on any of his barons or officers without his consent. These rules were not in accordance with Hildebrand's theory, but they were fundamental rules of the English constitution.

CHAPTER XII

THE TWELFTH CENTURY

The first half of this century belongs to the three sons of Queen Margaret—Edgar, Alexander, and David—who came successively to the throne. With them the Scottish monarchy puts on a new aspect. Malcolm their father had been King of Scots, a highlander trying to get south ; but from this time forth our kings were Anglo-Norman nobles, holding estates in the south, doing homage for them at the English court, joining with the other barons in the struggle to limit the powers of the English kings. In Scotland they were absolute, or as absolute as their own people would allow.

Edgar was a quiet, peaceable man ; Alexander's temper was more active : it was he who began to restore and complete the episcopal organization of the national church. The see of St. Andrews had been long vacant ; Alexander chose his mother's friend Turgot to be the new bishop. The good monk left his cell at Durham to face the east wind in Fife ; and he did some good work there, though the Culdees evidently gave him some trouble. As an Englishman he would probably have acknowledged the primacy of York ; but here the King became restive : to acknowledge York or even Canterbury was to compromise the independence of Scotland. Turgot went back to Durham and died there. After an interval of some years Alexander sent a deputation to Ralph, Archbishop of Canterbury, to ask that his monk Eadmer, a man of solid judgment and earnest piety, should be allowed to accept the bishopric. Having obtained the consent of his own King, the Archbishop sent Eadmer to St. Andrews, but with strict orders not to agree to anything which might compromise the claims of Canterbury. Alexander would not allow his bishop to be consecrated either by Canterbury or by York, and in the end Eadmer, like his predecessor, went back to his cell. He was probably happier

at Canterbury, where he was precentor, teacher, and spiritual director to the Archbishop himself.

Besides these efforts on behalf of St. Andrews, Alexander founded two new bishoprics—Dunkeld, always a centre of Church life, and Moray, an outpost of civilization in the north.

When David came to the throne in 1124 he was already known as the founder or restorer of the see of Glasgow. The first bishop of the new line was the King's old tutor, John, whose career proves clearly that the popes were doing their best to maintain discipline in Scotland and elsewhere. For John found his westland flock so intractable that he tried to escape from his duties ; a pilgrimage to Jerusalem or a cell at Tiron was more to his liking than the business of government. Paschal II consecrated him, rather against his will ; Calixtus II sent him back to Glasgow ; finally in 1138 a synod held at Carlisle dealt seriously with John, and from that time forth he was more constant to his episcopal city. The synod of Carlisle was presided over by the Cardinal Alberic, a friend and disciple of St. Bernard and an ardent champion of Catholic reform.

Besides Glasgow, five bishoprics were founded by King David. Caithness and Sutherland had their cathedral church at Dornoch ; the Bishop of Ross was placed on the Moray Firth at Chanonry ; Aberdeen, Dunblane, and Brechin were raised to the higher ecclesiastical rank. The chief duty of the new bishops was to see that the ordinances of religion were provided throughout their dioceses, and they had the chief share in the gradual formation of parishes. Their work was hard, and at first they were not highly paid. When Scottish bishops were summoned to synods and councils, they made rather a poor show among the wealthier prelates of other countries.

During the reigns of Alexander and David, large additions were made to the monastic institutions of the country. The movement of reform, inspired by Bernard of Clairvaux, affected both Benedictine and Augustinian houses, and gave mobility, so to speak, to all the forces of the Church. If the cloister tempted men to be idle, surely the best cure for that was to move on to new conquests. New companies and sub-orders

arose, each in turn asking the Pope's leave to wear some distinctive dress and obey some improved rule. As soon as each company had made a home for itself, some of its members were eager to go out and make a new settlement. A few of the more important facts may here be summarized, to show how this movement affected Scotland.

In 1114 Alexander brought Augustinian canons from Pontefract; this was the beginning of the great Abbey of Scone. The same order had a house at St. Andrews, where they superseded the Culdees. From St. Andrews David brought canons to Edinburgh; at first they were in the castle, until a home was found for them at the foot of the hill, where the Abbey of Holyrood still stands.

Prince David brought reformed Benedictines from Tiron in Burgundy, and settled them at Selkirk; when he became King he moved them to Kelso, and there a great Tironensian abbey arose. Another abbey of the same order was placed at Kilwinning. The reform of Fleury was represented by the Benedictines whom the King placed at Dunfermline.

Of all the monastic reforms the best known was that begun by St. Robert and carried out by Stephen Harding at Cîteaux (Cistercium), a bare marshy spot in the Duchy of Burgundy. St. Bernard's house at Clairvaux was an early offshoot from the parent house. The rule of the Cistercian order was very austere; even in their chapels there was no display; a plain altar, with one candle on an iron stand, sufficed. Their abbeys multiplied fast. Giffard, Bishop of Winchester, brought them to England and settled them at Waverley in Surrey. They also had a house at Rivaulx in Yorkshire, and there one Ailred was master of the novices. He had spent part of his youth at David's court; he may have been at work on his *Life of St. Ninian*; and it was probably at his suggestion that a company of the 'white monks' set out for Scotland. Melrose, Newbattle, and Dundrennan were all founded in the course of the next few years.

The monks of Prémontré in Picardy were reformed Augustinians. In 1148 Fergus, Lord of Galloway, gave them a place at Soulseat, beside the little green loch which lies half-way

between Loch Ryan and Wigtown Bay. This order was very successful in Scotland ; the Premonstratensian houses extended from Withorn to Fearn on the east coast of Ross.

All the houses I have named began very simply ; all attained to wealth ; and all declined, more or less grievously, from the purpose of their founders. It is only fair to remember that the wealth of the monks was largely of their own creation. In part it arose from their skill in annexing parishes, where they drew the tithes and fees, and put in a vicar (that is, a substitute) to do the work. But the monks were also the leaders of our people in all the practical arts. They taught us how to drain the wet land ; how to vary the crops ; how to improve the breed of cattle and sheep. They had a share in the beginnings of our seaborne trade ; and the monks of Newbattle were the first to win coal out of Scottish ground. They did something for education ; but books were still copied by hand, and were therefore few and expensive ; the notion that an ordinary layman might learn to read was still far off in the future.

David died in 1153 ; his later years were clouded by sorrow for the death of his son Henry. Malcolm, son of Henry, succeeded to the throne and reigned twelve years. In the month of December 1165 he died at Jedburgh ; a fortnight later, his brother, William the Lion, was crowned at Scone.

As an English noble, William did suit and service at the court of Henry II ; and there he followed with admiration the career of the new Archbishop, Thomas Becket. In the days of his diaconate, Becket had been a brilliant soldier and an able administrator, but even then he was a man of pure and pious life, not unworthy to hold high office in the Church. On almost all the points of the controversy which ensued, the Archbishop was in the right ; he stood for the customs of the English Church and realm against the self-will and rapacity of the King. We may criticize the use he made of his powers of excommunication and suspension, but he caught at the only weapons by which a churchman could defend his order. William the Lion, like Becket, was standing out against Henry ; looking round him for help, he sent an embassy to Louis VII of France. This was the definite beginning of that ' auld alliance ' which

influenced in many ways the political and religious development of Scotland.

After Becket had been done to death, William joined the King of France and the rebel princes of England in a league against the ' tyrant '. He rode the usual raid into Northumberland, but the Yorkshire barons rose against him ; he was taken prisoner, and before he regained his freedom he had signed away the independence of his kingdom and his national Church. This was only for a time ; the Pope, Alexander III, was a power in Europe ; and the Pope sided with Scotland. France and Rome agreed in thinking that a king like Henry would be more easily dealt with if he had an enterprising neighbour, free to attack his northern frontier. At the Council held by Cardinal Petreleonis at Northampton in January 1176, the Scottish bishops declined all submission to York, and Canterbury, anxious to keep his brother primate within bounds, came to their assistance. In the following July the Pope wrote to the Scottish bishops, forbidding them to acknowledge any metropolitan but himself.

William, though an enemy of Henry's ' tyranny ', did not give way to clergymen where the rights of his own crown were concerned. In 1177 the chapter of St. Andrews elected John the Scot (an Englishman, in spite of his name) to be their bishop ; the King forced his chaplain Hugh into the see ; this dispute lasted twelve years.

In August 1177 Cardinal Vivian crossed over from Ireland, where he had been holding a council, and met the Scottish bishops at Edinburgh. He did not settle the larger questions under discussion, but some decrees were made. The bishops wished to restrict the immunities claimed by Cistercian monks, and the Cardinal agreed to this ; wherefore the chronicler at Melrose wrote him down as a legate ' quick to seize, and not slow to rob men of their own '.

The year 1178 witnessed the most important of this King's religious foundations, when monks came from Kelso to begin the Abbey of Arbroath. When the abbey church was finished, it was dedicated to the King's deceased friend, now St. Thomas of Canterbury, and the sacred banner of Columba was placed

in the keeping of the monks. It was also in 1178 that William chose an English clergyman, Roger de Beaumont, to be his chancellor.

In March 1179 the Pope held a Council at the Lateran; about 300 bishops were present, and some useful ordinances were made. Some limit was imposed on the luxury of prelates and on the irregularities too common among the clergy. This was the first great Council to which bishops from Scotland were summoned; Gregory, Bishop of Ross, signed the decrees. Two bishops-designate had made the long journey to receive consecration from the Pope; one came on horseback alone, and one on foot with a companion. Their poverty must have been contrasted with the display made by some of their brethren; for the Council thought it necessary to enact that a bishop should not have more than twenty or thirty horses, an archbishop not more than forty or fifty.

When Pope Alexander died, another deputation went to Rome; the new Pope, Lucius III, received them well, and sent William the Golden Rose as a token of his good-will; the dispute about St. Andrews lingered on. In 1186 the King of Scotland was married at Woodstock to Ermengarde de Beaumont, who did her best to maintain friendly relations between the two kingdoms to which she belonged. During the years which followed his marriage, William saw himself set free from subjection to England. For, in 1188, Clement III issued the bull *Cum universi*, by which the Scottish Church was made directly dependent on the Roman See. In 1189 the old 'tyrant' died; his son Richard needed money for the fifth crusade; for the reasonable sum of 10,000 merks William was freed from the treaty extorted by Henry II.

Before we leave the twelfth century, we may glance for a moment at one of its least conspicuous and most significant preachers. The Abbot Joachim of Flora (1145–1202) spent his life in the cloister; his only ambition was to write faithful commentaries on his favourite books of the Bible. His works were approved by successive popes, but he left behind him certain apocalyptic studies which caused a whole crop of strange opinions to spring up in the Western Church. He divided

the history of mankind into three ages or dispensations, corresponding to the Persons of the Trinity. The first age ended with the birth of Christ ; the second, Joachim thought, would soon draw to a close ; then would begin the age of the Holy Spirit, when the Church would be purged of selfishness and corruption ; all men would give themselves to religious contemplation ; even the Jews would accept the truth. This doctrine appealed to those, and they were many, who were deeply dissatisfied with the Church as they knew her. And when, centuries later, dissatisfaction had ripened into revolt, there were still some who turned back to the works of Abbot Joachim.

CHAPTER XIII

THE THIRTEENTH CENTURY

The closing years of William the Lion's reign were fairly prosperous. He gave way to John of England, to avoid war ; he was on good terms with his own barons at home ; he cultivated the friendship of his royal burghs, and encouraged their trade. This wise policy was continued by his son, Alexander II, and by his grandson, Alexander III. In Scotland as in other countries the thirteenth was a century of steady advance ; law, government, and society began to take on the aspect which they still wear.

Each nation clung to its independence ; but there were still institutions in which the unity of Western Christendom was embodied. The orders of chivalry and the Universities were international in their influence, but the chief bond of union was the papacy, and the Pope who led Europe in the early years of the thirteenth century was worthy of his position. Innocent III had meditated profoundly on the duties of his office ; he was guided by a clear conception of his own authority. His theory was that of Hildebrand, and it was so expressed as to place the Church above the State. If the Pope commanded a secular prince to draw his sword against heresy, the prince was not entitled to form an opinion on the question of policy. If he disobeyed, the Pope could absolve his Christian subjects from their allegiance, and hand over his dominions to some more loyal son of the Church.

The efforts of this able Pope were directed to the promotion of three great causes ; and in each of the three Scotland had a direct interest. In the first place, Innocent longed to bring the Eastern Church into visible union with Rome, and to make the Holy Land the seat of a Catholic prince. But the old enthusiasm had died out ; the men who led the armies of the Church aimed only at carving out kingdoms for themselves.

The Pope's appeals drew forth only a faint response ; in Scotland, very few volunteered, and ' none of the great men '.

Again, Innocent was deeply distressed by the scandals which her growing wealth had brought upon the Church ; he laboured hard to make rules of discipline for the clergy, and to secure bishops who could be trusted to enforce them. It was at his persuasion or command that William Malvoisin, a clerk of Normandy, was invited to be bishop, first of Glasgow and soon afterwards of St. Andrews. William was a good bishop, but he was also a good chancellor of the kingdom, and his diplomatic duties often kept him absent from his diocese. There is a story that he took away two livings from the monks of Dunfermline, because his supply of wine ran short when he stayed there ; but this may be only the gossip of the monastery.

Finally, Innocent was determined to mark out the bounds of orthodoxy so clearly that error would be left without excuse, and to secure the aid of Christian princes in suppressing every form of heresy. The twelfth century had witnessed the long struggle between Abelard and St. Bernard, and the results of much disputation were recorded in two books of authority, Gratian's *Concordance of the Canon Law*, and Master Peter Lombard's *Book of the Sentences*. Of the system expounded in these books, Pope Innocent was a devoted adherent.

The three main purposes of his life were all present to the Pope's mind when in November 1215 (just eight months before his death) he opened another great Council in the Lateran. The bishops who attended were 412 in number ; Scotland was represented by Malvoisin and others. Innocent had drawn up a kind of code in seventy chapters, and this was laid before the council. Some of the bishops thought the Pope's rules too burdensome ; there was, apparently, no opposition, but as the new articles were not discussed *conciliariter* it may be correct to say that they were not received as part of the canon law. The first article contains an expression which was often bandied to and fro in the controversies of a later age. In the sacrament of the altar, said Pope Innocent, the bread and wine are *transubstantiated* into the body and blood of Christ. It is important to bear in mind that the word ' substance ', as used

by students of philosophy, is not equivalent to 'material substance'; it means rather the real existence of a thing—the thing itself, as distinguished from its qualities. The doctrine of transubstantiation, as defined by Innocent, is in fact a scholastic theory—an attempt to give precise form to a truth which every devout Christian acknowledges to be a mystery.

In subsequent chapters the Abbot Joachim was censured for his erroneous views in regard to the Blessed Trinity; the Greeks were invited to conform to Rome; uniformity of worship was enjoined, and bishops were directed to provide capable preachers; they were forbidden to ordain illiterate persons. Fees for burials, marriages, &c., were disallowed, but without prejudice to existing customs. The faithful of both sexes were ordered to confess at least once a year to their proper priest.

The labours of Pope Innocent were followed by a harvest of good work in the countries under his authority, and in Scotland among the rest. His successor, Honorius III, strengthened the hands of the Scottish bishops by conferring upon them the right of synodical deliberation. York protested, and the King of England complained, but the bishops began at once to exercise their rights, and to hold regular provincial councils. The statutes made by these episcopal meetings are of great interest; they prove that there were many abuses and corruptions in the national church; but they prove also that the bishops knew their duty and were trying to do it.

David de Bernham, Bishop of St. Andrews, may stand as the type of the reforming prelacy of this period. In the space of ten years he is said to have consecrated 140 churches. In 1242 he assembled the clergy of his diocese at Musselburgh; some useful rules were made for the care of church buildings, the administration of the sacraments and other important matters.

Like his predecessors, Alexander II was a good friend to the 'religious'. In his time the Cluniacs found a home at Crossraguel; the Cistercians had a new abbey at Balmerino, on the Fife coast of the Frith of Tay; the reformed Cistercians of Val des Choux began the beautiful Abbey of Pluscardine in Moray. The King extended a welcome to the two new orders

of mendicant friars ; the Dominicans or Black Friars soon had eight houses ; the Franciscans or Grey Friars had houses at Berwick and Roxburgh. Each of these orders had a character of its own, impressed upon it by its founder. The Black Friars gave themselves to the ministry of preaching ; they became the authoritative teachers of the Western Church ; in the first half-century of their existence they could boast of two very notable philosophers—Albertus Magnus, the most learned man of the age, and his pupil, Thomas Aquinas. If we admit that St. Thomas often had to build with untrustworthy material—misapplied texts and mistaken analogies—this detracts little from our admiration of the power, the acuteness, and the essential fairness of his mind.

The Grey Friars were pledged by their founder St. Francis to the service of humanity ; they were to tend the sick, and, out of their own poverty, to help the poor. These duties they never wholly forgot, but in time they also got learning, and began to take part in the perpetual disputation of the Universities. In speculation they were bolder than the Dominicans, bolder than some popes were disposed to allow. Even the Third Order of St. Francis, to which lay persons, men and women, were admitted, was so subversive in spirit that its influence must be mentioned among the predisposing causes of the Reformation.

When they came to Scotland, the friars, black and grey, were bound by a very strict vow of poverty ; their houses were small and plain : the head of a house would not take the proud title of Abbot ; he was Prior if he wore the black robe, Warden if he wore the grey habit of St. Francis. As preachers they were indefatigable, and they preached in the vernacular of their hearers ; their lively sermons were more attractive than the mumbled Latin of the church service.

Though a loyal Catholic, Alexander II stood firmly on the rights of his crown. In 1237 the legate Otho, who was visiting England, wished to include Scotland in his mission ; but the King objected. Matthew Paris, monk of St. Albans, records with evident enjoyment that the King tried to frighten the legate by giving him a disquieting account of the unruly temper

of the Scots. Two years later, in 1247, a grey friar was allowed to collect money for the war against the Emperor Frederick, but the King again pointed out that this was not in accordance with the bull of Clement III. These recurring demands for money are significant ; in them we see another predisposing cause of the Reformation. The people of Scotland were just beginning to prosper in a quiet way under their own kings, and it grieved them to see good money carried out of the kingdom by Italian ecclesiastics. During the age of Innocent III the papacy, whatever its faults may have been, was the greatest power for good in Europe ; half a century later it was beginning to be a grievance and a burden.

Alexander II died in the island of Kerrera, 8th July 1249 ; five days later his son, a child of eight, was placed on the coronation stone at Scone : Alexander III reigned thirty-six years, and walked in the ways of his father. The king was only nine when he took part in an impressive service at Dunfermline, where the bones of Queen Margaret and her husband were transferred to a shrine in the newly-built choir of the abbey. During the years which followed this event, two more societies of mendicant friars obtained a footing in the country : the Trinitarians (Red Friars) had a house at Fail in Ayrshire ; and the Bishop of Dunkeld brought in the Carmelites (White Friars) and settled them at Tullimull near Perth. No order evolved a more imposing legend than the Carmelites. They claimed Elijah as their founder, Jonah and Obadiah as members of the order ; even our Lord and the Blessed Virgin were brought into the story as professed Carmelites. Not without reason, the Roman authorities began to discuss the expediency of putting some limit to the multiplication of mendicants.

In the spring of 1265, Ottoboni de Fieschi was appointed the Pope's legate for England, Scotland, and Ireland. From the Scottish bishops he demanded a subsidy of four merks for every parish church and six for each cathedral. Alexander would not allow his clergy to pay, and forbade the legate to enter Scotland. In 1268 this legate held a synod in London ; two Scottish bishops attended, but when the legate produced some new canons for their acceptance they ' utterly refused '

to observe them. In the course of the same year Clement IV granted a tenth of every Scottish benefice in aid of the crusade undertaken by Prince Edward of England ; but again Alexander and his clergy refused.

In 1273 Gregory X summoned a Council, which met at Lyons in the following year. All the Scottish bishops were present, except Dunkeld and Moray, who were left to keep good order at home. The topics discussed at the Council were, once more, the recovery of the Holy Land, and the maintenance of discipline among the clergy.

The year 1275 was remembered in Scotland as the year when Boiamund de Vesci came to collect the Pope's tithe on all benefices, in preparation for the intended crusade. Under the *antiqua taxatio* the livings had been assessed below their actual value, and the papal treasury wished to have a stricter valuation. After some resistance, the legate carried his point, and ' Bagimond's Roll ', as altered from time to time, was the standard of taxation, so long as the Roman clergy had anything to tax.

In the same year, 1275, Dervorguilla, daughter of Alan, Lord of Galloway, and widow of John Baliol, founded the beautiful Cistercian Abbey near the estuary of the Nith ; she called it *Dulce Cor*, because her husband's heart was deposited there, until it could be placed in her coffin and buried with her. This was the last abbey founded in Scotland.

The steady progress achieved by a succession of good kings was checked in 1285 when Alexander III met his death at Kinghorn. His little granddaughter was brought from Norway to be Queen ; but she died at Kirkwall ; and before long there were thirteen competitors for the vacant throne. There was a general disposition to abide by the judgment of the King of England ; and Edward acted justly when he gave the crown to John Baliol, the eldest surviving son of Dervorguilla. But it was soon evident that the English king meant to be lord paramount of Scotland, and more. Nobles, commons, and clergy were all unwilling to submit ; and before the century was out Wallace had proved that it was possible to beat an English army : the national pride of his countrymen struck root

between the Abbey Craig and the Forth. Both sides were fighting for the legal right, as they understood it; both appealed to the God of battles. At Falkirk Edward called on his men to charge in the name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Spirit.

In these pages we can name Wallace without misgiving; he broke no promise when he took arms against the English, and his behaviour was worthy of a Christian knight. The plundering of the great church at Hexham was the act of his soldiers, which the general would have prevented if he had been warned in time. Beside the heroic figure of Sir William we keep a place for his schoolfellow John Blair, Benedictine monk of Dunfermline, chaplain and historiographer to the Warden of Scotland.

A difficult problem is presented by the conduct of those men who took up the cause of independence and carried it to success. What are we to make of the fact that Robert Bruce, and the bishops of his party, repeatedly swore fealty to Edward, and broke their solemn promises when they were strong enough to defy him? The only answer we can make is, that the question at issue between the two nations was one which could only be settled by war. Until the Scots knew they were beaten, their oaths and promises were merely expedients to 'drive the time' and to get a chance of beginning again.

In the critical year 1297 there was another disputed election at St. Andrews. Lamberton, who had the support of Wallace, received the votes of the chapter; the Culdees—the remnant of the old Gaelic-speaking clergy—insisted that William Comyn should be bishop. The Culdee candidate went all the way to Rome to establish his claim; but the Pope decided in favour of Lamberton.

CHAPTER XIV

THE FOURTEENTH CENTURY

At Christmas 1294 Benedict Cajetan, a noted canonist, was elected Pope, and took the name of Boniface VIII; and he reigned nearly nine years. No pope has been more explicit in asserting the claims of the Holy See. In the early days of his reign he issued the bull *Clericis laicos*, by which secular princes were forbidden to tax the revenues of the Church; and in the last year of his life he followed it up with the bull *Unam sanctam ecclesiam*, in which the sovereigns of Europe were told that they bore the civil sword only by the assent and sufferance of the Pope.

The Scottish party of independence had made efforts to obtain the spiritual assistance of Boniface; there is some reason to think that Wallace himself went to Rome for this purpose. In the year 1300, which was kept by Boniface as a jubilee, the Pope wrote to Edward, claiming Scotland as a papal fief, and commanding him to leave the country. This letter was entrusted to Winchelsea, Archbishop of Canterbury, a convinced partisan of ecclesiastical authority. After a trying journey (for Winchelsea was a stout elderly man, and the Scots were hovering about) the Archbishop found the King at Sweetheart Abbey, and delivered his message. Edward said he would consult his barons before replying. In 1301 the English Parliament sent a polite but stiff reply: they declined to admit the Pope's right to interfere in temporal affairs. On this might have followed the thunders of the Church; but Boniface had to consider his position. Edward of England and Philip of France were both strong men; both were convinced that the royal power extended over the national Church; both had the support of powerful bishops. Philip was the nearer and more formidable enemy of the two. Boniface listened to Edward's arguments, and in 1302 he wrote to the Scottish

bishops, denouncing in the strongest language those wicked men who would not submit to the King of England. His quarrel with the King of France went on until at last Philip sent a French lawyer to Anagni to put the Pope under arrest; in the dispute which ensued Colonna struck the aged pontiff in the face.

In 1305 Edward gained a conspicuous victory, for in August of that year Wallace was brought, a prisoner, to London, tried, after a fashion, in Westminster Hall, and hanged at Smithfield. It remained to be seen whether Bruce or Comyn could lead the party of independence. Neither was quite trustworthy; neither trusted the other.

By this time the unlucky Boniface was dead; the short reign of Benedict XI had run its course; Bertrand de Goth, a French vassal of King Edward, had been elected pope, and had taken the name of Clement V.

In February 1306 Bruce and Comyn met at the church of the grey friars in Dumfries. As they talked in the cloister Bruce suddenly drew his sword and struck his rival down. The friars carried the wounded man to a place where they could tend him and hear his confession; Bruce's men dragged him back to the church and killed him on the altar steps. His uncle, Sir Robert Comyn, was killed at the same time.

There was no escape for Bruce unless in a bold and apparently hopeless revolt. In April he was proclaimed King at Scone; Lamberton of St. Andrews placed the crown on his head, and Wishart of Glasgow lent some of his episcopal robes that the new King might make a good appearance.

Edward swore by God and the swan that he would punish the crime of Dumfries; the war against the heathen Scot assumed the aspect of a crusade. On Passion Sunday 1307, Bruce and his adherents were excommunicated by a cardinal in the cathedral church of Carlisle. But in July of that year the English king lay dying, and his work passed into the incapable hands of his son.

Every Scotsman knows how hard was the school in which Bruce learned discipline, and how well he mastered his lesson.

The French king had induced Clement to fix his residence at

Avignon, and there the papal court remained for about seventy years. Clement was needed to sit in judgment on the enormities of the Knights of the Temple. Whether and how far the charges against them were proved is a question open to debate; but it was the wealth of the Templars which caused Philip to take action against them. In Scotland they had owned, at one time or another, about fifteen houses. Lamberton, who had a strange talent for standing in with all parties, was commissioned by the Pope to hold an inquiry, and the property of the Templars was given to the Knights of St. John.

After Bannockburn (1314) the papal court made some attempt to secure peace. In 1316 there was a new Pope, John XXII, a busy little man, not loved by all his flock. Two of his cardinals, Gaucelin and Luke, were deputed to make peace on the Scottish border. They came as far as Durham and there they paused; for in the letters they bore Edward II was described as king, while Bruce was only 'a noble person, presently governing Scotland'. It was known that King Robert would not receive a letter so addressed; the Bishop of Corbeil made the experiment, and the letter was declined. Adam Newton, Warden of the Franciscan house at Berwick, went to Bruce's camp and proclaimed a two years' truce; but this was a waste of words; Bruce could not disarm until his right was acknowledged. Once more King Robert and his men were excommunicated, but they only set themselves to explain matters to the Holy See. In 1320 the King and Parliament set forth in moving terms their grievance against England and their desire to be independent. This letter was carried to Avignon by Sir Adam Gordon, and it produced some effect. For his many services to King Robert, Sir Adam was rewarded with the lordship of Strathbogie; thus the house of Gordon was transplanted from the border to the north.

In 1323 Sir Thomas Randolph persuaded Pope John to give the King his title. We cannot suppose that the Pope had much time to bestow on Scotland: he was already in the thick of his famous battle with the grey friars. The keenest brain of Europe was that of the English Franciscan, William of Occam, and William was pressing home an argument which would,

as John shrewdly perceived, bring a great part of the papal system to the ground.

In 1328 there was peace with England, sealed by the marriage of David Bruce with Joan, sister of Edward III: the bridegroom was four, and the bride about the same age. King Robert was not present at the ceremony, for he was a leper; he met the wedded pair at Edinburgh, and then went away to Cardross, to linger out a few more months of suffering. He had never been able to join the crusade, as he hoped to do; he asked Sir James Douglas to carry his heart to the Holy Land. Douglas did his best, but he died fighting against the Moors in Spain; the king's heart was brought back and buried at Melrose.

David II began to reign at the age of five, and he reigned more than forty years, but he did very little. During his boyhood he was an exile in France; eleven years of his manhood were spent in captivity in England. On Joan's death David married Margaret Drummond, widow of Sir John Logie, but the marriage ended in a divorce. The lady went to Avignon, and the Pope was ready to decide in her favour, but she died before returning to Scotland: of the merits of this dispute we have no certain information. On David's death he was succeeded by Robert, son of Walter the Steward and Marjory Bruce: he again was succeeded by his son John, who dropped his unlucky christian name and became Robert III. This last Robert was a sincerely religious man, but not a strong king, and his brothers set the example of contempt for the royal authority. The Duke of Albany was the type of the lawless nobility; the Earl of Buchan, known as the Wolf of Badenoch, was the terror of the north: his most notable exploit was the burning of Elgin Cathedral, but for this he did penance and received absolution. At the close of the fourteenth century a patriotic Scotsman might have doubted whether independence had been, on the whole, a blessing or a curse: but no patriotic Scotsman wanted to give in.

During the latter half of the fourteenth century the English Parliament was engaged in the endeavour to curb the royal power, to check the extravagance of the court, to assert the

supremacy of the law: their success is proved by the tragic failure of Richard II. They were also bent on excluding papal interference, and they had good reason for acting as they did. The Avignon popes were not conspicuously worse than their predecessors; even the unpopular John, though a bad ruler, was not a bad man. But the system which they administered was going from bad to worse; the extortions of papal officials were more than any nation could bear, and the temporary capital of the papacy became notorious as a centre of luxury and vice. It was time for the Parliament to say, and they said with emphasis, that England was not a papal fief; that they would pay no feudal tribute; that cases which could be tried in English courts were not to be withdrawn elsewhither by papal orders.

The debates of Parliament drew into the field of politics a man whose influence was deeply felt, both in England and in Scotland. John Wyclif, a Yorkshireman, had found a subsistence and a career at Oxford; was Master of John Baliol's college there, well known in the University as a teacher and disputant. He had studied the writings of William of Occam, and had meditated earnestly on the theory of government in Church and State. His conclusions were those of his Franciscan masters: he found the root of all existing abuses in the wealth and political power of the clergy. Strong measures of reform were needed, and for these he looked first to the royal government, which could punish the delinquent clergy by taking away their revenues. At the same time he laboured to build up a purer Church by bringing the gospel to the common people in their own language. Like many reformers Wyclif did not foresee the application that would be made of his teaching. His doctrine of poverty was welcome to greedy nobles, already quite willing to plunder the Church; and his strictures on the misuse of wealth, expounded to peasants in the vernacular, stirred up a vague socialistic movement and ultimately led to acts of violence.

In the year 1377 Wyclif was twice summoned by the authorities to answer for his opinions. He had powerful friends, and might have escaped further notice, but at this

juncture the Western Church was rent by a schism which gave a new significance to the antipapal theories of the friars.

There had always been many good Catholics who lamented the transfer of St. Peter's chair to Avignon ; the popes themselves cherished the hope of returning to Rome. Moved by the passionate pleading of Catherine of Siena, Gregory XI went to Rome, to fix his residence there, and at Rome he died in 1378. The town guard was turned out to prevent the cardinals from leaving the city, and the people demanded a Roman pope. The cardinals chose, not a Roman, but still an Italian, the Archbishop of Bari, supposed to be a quiet inoffensive man ; he took the name of Urban VI. Once installed in power, the new Pope became so overbearing that the cardinals revolted ; they slipped away from Rome to safer towns, and at last announced that the election of Urban had been made under compulsion, and that they had freely chosen one of their number, Robert of Geneva, who was proclaimed by the name of Clement VII. There were now two popes in the field, Urban at Rome, and Clement at Avignon, both claiming the obedience and the money of the faithful, and both prepared to excommunicate those who refused.

Wyclif was not deeply interested in the schism ; he compared the rival pontiffs to dogs quarrelling over a bone ; but the miserable results of disunion gave him an impulse in the antipapal direction. He had long been studying the doctrine of the Eucharist, and he saw reason to think that the simple Communion Service on which the Mass was founded had been overlaid with superstitions, and that the forms of speech used by ignorant laymen and equally ignorant priests gave expression to a crudely materialist view of the sacrament. In 1380 Wyclif published his own theory of the Eucharist, which was intended to preserve the belief in the real presence of Christ in the sacrament, and at the same time to exclude superstition. In 1382 he completed the greatest undertaking of his life ; to him, and to his company of scholars, the English people are indebted for the first translation of the whole Bible into their own tongue. The rapid multiplication of manuscript copies showed how wisely Wyclif had discerned the needs of his time.

This book exercised a very important influence on the history of Scotland. If the two kingdoms were ever to be one, it was necessary, first of all, that they should understand one another ; but if any Edward or Henry had forced us to speak his language, we should have hated it, and our colleges might even now be standing out for ' compulsory Scots '. We took a long step forward when Scotsmen began to read and speak English, because they wished to study the Word of God.

When Wyclif died, in 1384, his work was done. He had made a deep impression on many minds, and his ' poor priests ' with their simple sermons had revived religion among the people. In quiet corners men came together to pray and read without the elaborate forms of the established Church. Their enemies called them Lollards—the name is probably connected with the 'lolling' or singing of psalms and hymns. Their opinions combined fidelity to the Evangel as they knew it with the abstract radicalism often associated, in later times, with non-conformity. They objected to war, and petitioned for the suppression of armourers, who made weapons of destruction, and goldsmiths, who lent money to belligerent princes. They believed the worst that was said of monks and nuns, and they advocated sweeping measures of disendowment. From the episcopal point of view they were plainly heretics and disorderly persons, to be visited with all the rigour of the law.

In the great affair of the schism, the nations took sides in strict pursuance of their own interests. Italy and Germany adhered to Rome ; France naturally preferred Avignon. England went against France ; Scotland went with her old ally and against her old neighbour and enemy. At the close of the century, the Roman pope was Boniface IX ; the Avignon pope was Benedict XIII, an accomplished old Spaniard, who met every suggestion of compromise with endless resource and inflexible obstinacy. Our adherence to Avignon was not wholly unrewarded ; the first cardinal's hat that came to Scotland was sent by Clement VII to Walter Wardlaw, Bishop of Glasgow, in 1385. We have never had a pope, or even an antipope, of our own ; but the list is not yet closed.

CHAPTER XV

THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY

Henry Wardlaw, nephew of the cardinal, may be taken as a good type of the more cultured prelates of this age. He became a prebendary while he was still a schoolboy: if we cannot approve the lax rules which made this possible, we must admit that this early preferment enabled a promising scholar to complete his studies at Oxford and Paris, and to commend himself to the papal court at Avignon. In 1403 Benedict XIII made him Bishop of St. Andrews: his episcopate was a long one, and during the whole of it he served his country well, by helping to maintain law and order, and still more by turning the mind of Scotland to ideals higher than those of the feudal nobility.

The declining years of Robert III were full of sorrow. His elder son, the Duke of Rothesay, was done to death; the younger, James, was in danger of the same fate. For his safety and good upbringing the King placed him with the new Bishop at St. Andrews, and there the Prince James made some progress in the studies which were the foundation of his literary fame. For his further education the boy was sent to France; but a ship put out from Cley in Norfolk, and the prince was carried captive to England, where he was detained during nineteen long years. When King Robert heard that his son was a prisoner, he turned his face to the wall and died.

Albany, who assumed the regency, professed himself a constant Catholic, and the clergy relied on his support against all heretics. For some time past, the states of Europe had been enacting penalties against those who disturbed the unity of Christendom by teaching new doctrines. Catholic historians are careful to point out that it was the State, not the Church, which prescribed death by fire as the punishment of error; but if the argument is meant to relieve the clergy of

responsibility, it is obviously insufficient. The laws under which heretics were burned were passed at the instance of the bishops.

John Resby, an English priest, was found in Scotland, disseminating Lollard opinions ; he was taken before a council of the clergy, and Lawrence, Abbot of Lindores, presented no less than forty charges against him. The two articles which Bower thinks worthy of mention are these : Resby denied that the Pope was Vicar of Christ ; considering that Innocent III had been the first to claim this title, a Christian man should not have been counted worthy of death for hesitating to assent to it. Again, Resby said that no man was truly pope unless he was holy. This is one of the dangerous points in Wyclif's teaching : dangerous because it raises a practical question of great difficulty. Who is to decide whether a person in authority is or is not in a state of grace ? Lollards and Protestants undertook to decide such questions for themselves, and we cannot be sure that they always decided rightly.

Sir D. Hunter Blair blames Resby for his ' obstinacy in refusing to be convinced '. This poor man believed that he had attained to some knowledge of the truth ; he could not give up his convictions merely because an eloquent abbot told him he was wrong. He was burned, he and his writings, at Perth in 1407.

In 1410 Henry Wardlaw began to carry out his admirable scheme for the formation of a *studium generale* at St. Andrews. Teachers were appointed in philosophy, theology, and canon law, and students were not wanting ; but the University needed papal confirmation. Our Pope, Benedict XIII, was so beset by his enemies that he had retired to his castle of Peñiscola in Aragon. Henry Ogilvie was the bearer of Wardlaw's petition ; and he returned in 1414 with the necessary bulls. They were received with great rejoicings, and our first national university was now fully armed for the conflict with ignorance and heresy. In 1416 all Masters of Arts were required to swear that they would oppose Lollards and other adversaries of the truth.

The first half of the fifteenth century is called the conciliar

period, because it witnessed several honest but not wholly successful attempts to reform the Western Church by the aid of general councils. In 1409 a number of cardinals met at Pisa, deposed the rival pontiffs, and elected a pope of their own, who is known as Alexander V ; when he died he was succeeded by John XXIII. The only immediate result of this Council was, that there were three popes in the field instead of two. There was a general desire for another Council, so strong in the support of temporal princes that the three competitors would be constrained to accept its decisions: and Sigismund, the new head of the Holy Roman Empire, was more than willing to be the peacemaker of Europe. In November 1414 the roads leading to Constance were thronged with parties of churchmen and laymen, hastening to assist, as combatants or spectators, in settling the momentous questions at issue.

The proceedings of the Council hardly belong to our present subject, and the results may be briefly described. The Council asserted its position as a body representing the Universal Church, a body to which even the Pope must submit: but good papalists prefer to read this as meaning only that the existing popes, to put an end to the existing schism, agreed to vest full powers in this particular council.

Something was done to safeguard the doctrine of the Church. Wyclif was condemned ; by order of the assembled fathers his remains were exhumed and thrown into the River Swift. John Hus, the Bohemian reformer, had come to Constance with a safeguard from Sigismund ; he was tried, condemned, and burned ; the Emperor refusing to intervene. Innocent III had laid it down for law that ' no faith is to be kept with those who keep not faith with God '.

Attention was called to certain abuses: in particular it was agreed that religious houses in Germany where the Scots had offices and bursaries should be visited. In the event, some of these houses were suppressed and some were handed over to Germans.

After much argument and negotiation, the Council deposed the three claimants, and elected Otto Colonna ; this was on Martinmas day 1417, and the new Pope took the name of

Martin V. A deputation was sent to bring the Scottish Church into line ; the University of St. Andrews accepted the decision of Constance ; and in a Provincial Council held at Perth in 1418 the University champions (John Eldow, the rector, and John Fogo, monk of Melrose) were entirely successful. Benedict still had many adherents in Scotland, but his claim died with himself in 1424, and the nation acquiesced in the settlement, although the same pope was now to be acknowledged on both sides of the Border.

The years spent by King James as a prisoner in England were not wasted. He was kindly treated, and he had the opportunity to perfect himself in knightly exercises, to acquire a fine sense of what was best in English poetry, and to take lessons in statesmanship from two popular kings. In the spring of 1424 he obtained his liberty ; he kept Easter at Edinburgh, and in May he and his English consort were crowned at Scone.

Of all our kings none had a stronger claim to the respect of his people. In dealing with wrong-doers, or with men dangerous to the commonwealth, James was firm and even ruthless ; but his worst severities were meted out to those who made a bad use of power. As a Catholic prince, he defended orthodoxy ; in his first Parliament the bishops were directed to make inquisition for Lollards and heretics. But he would not tolerate abuses ; he wrote to the superiors of the Benedictine and Augustinian orders, advising and commanding the religious to be more strict in observing their rules. In 1427 the Parliament and the Provincial Council sat concurrently at Perth. The Parliament directed that measures should be taken to expedite the trial of cases in the ecclesiastical courts. This was regarded as an attack on spiritual independence, and John Cameron, Bishop of Glasgow, was cited to Rome, to answer for his failure to assert the rights of the Church. Croyser, Archdeacon of Teviotdale, served the citation, and hurried back to Rome ; he was tried, in his absence, by a special court, and deprived of his benefices. The king forbade Cameron to leave the country, but he was evidently unwilling to risk an open conflict with the Pope.

Another General Council should have been summoned in

1423, but there were various reasons for postponements; it was only in 1431 that the Council was proclaimed; before it met, Martin V died and was succeeded by Eugenius IV. Among the fathers assembled at Basel, our Scottish deputies had their own place; there were present the Bishops of Glasgow and Brechin; our most active debater was Thomas Livingstone, Abbot of Dundrennan. The bishops of the northern nations were bent on correcting the abuses of Roman officialism, but in this matter they were not supported by the Pope. Eugenius had set his heart on persuading the Churches of the East to acknowledge the primacy of Rome; he wanted an Italian Council, under his own influence; he was not eager to accept reforms which would make him intensely unpopular with his own secretariat.

While the Council debated, the authorities in Scotland were upholding the law of their Church, as they understood it. Paul Crawar, a Bohemian, was brought to trial, charged with disseminating the doctrines of Hus. The indictment was long and varied; how much of it was proved we do not know. The procedure in criminal trials was at that time harsh and unfair, and in Church courts the prevailing fear of being thought unorthodox prevented the judges from giving the accused any chance of escape. Crawar was burned at Perth in July 1433. In 1435 Scotland received a distinguished guest. Aeneas Sylvius Piccolomini was at this time a layman; his mission was diplomatic, and his visit would hardly have been mentioned here but for the fact that he took orders and rose to be pope under the name of Pius II.

The Pope annulled, or tried to annul, the proceedings against his emissary Croyser; the dispute lingered on for some years, but before a final compromise was effected the King was beyond the reach of papal citations. In 1437 he went to keep Christmas in the Dominican convent at Perth; on the 20th February following, his enemies broke in and slew him. None of our kings has left a more kingly record; he was, we may truly say, a Christian prince, and he gave the best proof of his faith by living a clean and honourable life.

The heir-apparent, a child of six, was at Edinburgh, and it

was not safe to take him to Scone ; so James II was crowned at Holyrood. During his boyish years the young king had to rely on his mother, Jane Beaufort, and on Kennedy, Bishop of Dunkeld, a grandson of Robert III, and a faithful servant of the Church and State in which his lot was cast.

In the autumn of 1437 Pope Eugenius intimated that the Council, still sitting at Basel, was removed to Ferrara. The reforming party sat on where they were ; after a time they even elected an anti-pope ; but the election they made was not a good one, and even in their own countries they began to lose authority.

In 1439 the Council was moved to Florence, and there it remained about three years. The chief subject of discussion was the proposed terms of reunion with the Eastern Church The Greek bishops were compliant, so long as they were in Italy ; the Emperor needed the help of Western Europe against the Turk ; when they returned to their homes they put on their old opinions and declined to make any concession to Rome. With the Armenians Eugenius had some success ; he drew up for their benefit an instruction, explaining and defending the Seven Sacraments of the Roman Church.

Kennedy, Bishop of Dunkeld, was attending the Council when, in the spring of 1440, he heard that the good Wardlaw was dead, and that he was himself designated for the see of St. Andrews. He hoped Eugenius would empower him to undertake substantial reforms ; but the Pope, though his own life was blameless, was not a reformer. England, France, and Germany were eager to deal with flagrant abuses, but those were just the countries in which the national principle had prevailed over papalism ; also they were inhabited by men who had plenty of fighting at home, and did not wish to go hundreds of miles to fight the Turk. Eugenius was a man of many disappointments.

Bishop Kennedy was installed at St. Andrews in 1441 ; in 1447 he received a coadjutor, and a not unworthy rival, when William Turnbull became Bishop of Glasgow. A few years later, Turnbull obtained from Nicholas V the bull for a new university, in which teachers and students were to enjoy

privileges equal to those of Bologna. It was long before our places of learning could claim full equality with the wealthier foundations of England and the continent ; but, rough as they sometimes were, they brought us the promise of a better time.

James II was a less brilliant king than his father, but he was a well-meaning king ; the Parliaments of his reign did something to improve the government of the country ; neither King nor Parliament was strong enough to stop the perpetual fighting among nobles and chiefs. The Queen, Mary of Gueldres, was a pious lady who brought us nothing but good when she adopted Scotland for her home.

In the Parliament of 1450 eight bishops knelt before the King to ask him to surrender his claim to seize the whole movable property of a bishop on his death. The King granted the request, but he retained the right to draw the revenues of a vacant see ; and this prerogative was the source of many disorders ; it gave the King a pretext for leaving one diocese after another without a head, and for obstructing the chapters when they tried to exercise their right of election.

Among the important events of this reign must be mentioned the arrival of the Dutch friars, as they were called : small companies of the Observant Franciscans, who followed the strict rule of their founder, without any of the relaxations permitted by successive popes and accepted by the conventual members of the order. James I had heard a good account of the Observants, and had invited them to Scotland, but it was only in 1447 that Cornelius of Zieriksee and six of his brethren arrived in Edinburgh. Funds had been raised to provide them with a handsome dwelling, but Cornelius refused to occupy it, and the brethren found a humbler *habitaculum* elsewhere, until Bishop Kennedy overcame their scruples by obtaining a direct order from the Pope. They secured a convenient piece of land on the south side of the town, beyond the old city wall ; there the Greyfriars' church was built, and the adjoining churchyard laid out.

In 1460 James II was killed, accidentally, when besieging Roxburgh ; a few days later, Mary of Gueldres brought her little boy into the royal camp, and James III was crowned

in the abbey church of Kelso. For a few years longer Kennedy continued to guide the affairs of Scotland ; in 1465 he died, and his bishopric passed to his half-brother Patrick Graham, but almost immediately the new bishop retired to the papal court for safety ; he was not on good terms with the great house of Boyd. Returning for a time to Scotland, he took up the duties of his see, and presided at a Council held at Perth in 1470 ; in the following year his friend Cardinal Della Rovere was elected Pope, and took the title of Sixtus IV. Once more Bishop Graham went to Rome, and in 1472 he obtained the necessary bulls for making St. Andrews a metropolitan see, with jurisdiction over twelve dioceses, including three taken from other metropolitans ; for Galloway was still a suffragan of York ; while the Isles and Orkney were supposed to be subject to Trondhjem in Norway.

The Archbishop may have thought that every Scotsman would be glad to see the national church consolidated, and the claim of York thus finally excluded. But the bishops were dissatisfied and jealous ; the King said he had not been consulted ; the new primate found himself surrounded with enemies. His most active opponent was the Archdeacon of St. Andrews, William Scheves, an Aberdonian cleric, skilled in astrology, who had obtained an ascendancy over the unstable mind of the King. Before long the Archbishop was assailed with serious charges—heresy, simony, maladministration : so varied is the list of his imputed crimes that some writers have suggested that he was mad, while others regard him as a precursor of the Reformation. The simplest theory is that all these accusations proceeded from the fertile brain of Scheves, archdeacon and astrologer, who wanted to be primate. In 1478 Patrick Graham died in prison at Lochleven, and Scheves had the *pallium* and the cross. Graham had been condemned twice by the Pope, but in the last quarter of the fifteenth century the judgment of the Holy See was usually an affair of money. Sixtus IV had begun life as a Franciscan friar, and he retained the virtues of his order, but his policy was directed to worldly ends.

We may trace the influence of Scheves, or of some equally

unsafe adviser, in the events of 1479. The King's brothers were in league with those who opposed his government, and James thought it necessary to put his brother Mar under arrest. Rebellion was the substance of the charge, but Mar and his confederates were also charged with witchcraft; they were said to have melted a wax image of the King. There was about this time a revival of an old superstition. Innocent VIII issued a bull against witches in 1484. For two centuries and more the mind of Scotland was darkened by this miserable superstition.

So far as we can credit James III with a consistent policy, we perceive that he was trying to follow in the steps of his father and grandfather. His preference for the society of low-born men indicates only that his tastes were artistic; he did not care to live with gentlemen who could only talk of hunting and war. The Queen, Margaret of Denmark, is to be remembered, not only because she brought us Orkney and Shetland, but also because her piety commanded the reverence of her people. On her death in 1486 the Pope appointed a commission to investigate her claims to canonization; but the matter went no further; it is likely enough that our agents at Rome were not furnished with an adequate supply of money; for the King was hard pressed by disobedient subjects, and the heir-apparent was in the rebel camp. On a June day in 1488 the King rode off the fatal field of Sauchie; he was or thought himself dying and asked for a priest. A rebel soldier promised him a 'short shrift' and drove a sword through his body; so James III died, and James IV reigned in his stead. The new king, a boy of fifteen, entered at once on his royal duties and performed them with a fair measure of success. His life was careless and selfish, and he thought to set himself right with heaven by visiting the shrines of his favourite saints. With a touch of ostentation, he wore an iron belt, to remind him of his share in the guilt of his father's death.

Of the prelates who served both father and son the most notable was William Elphinstone, Bishop of Aberdeen, an eminent canon lawyer and a good administrator, who repaired and beautified his cathedral church, and gave it a famous peal of bells.

Blackader, Bishop of Glasgow, was an active, energetic man, bent on raising his see to an equality with St. Andrews. In 1489 he obtained the approval of Parliament, but Scheves, who was both primate and *legatus natus*, was able to delay the project for a time. In 1492 Innocent VIII issued the necessary bull; Blackader had his cross carried before him; but he was still without the *pallium*, the woollen scarf which was the symbol of jurisdiction; the two archbishops continued to quarrel, and the matter was again referred to the Pope. The sees made subject to the new Archbishop were those of Dunkeld, Dunblane, Argyle, and Galloway.

In 1494 Blackader was alarmed to find that Lollard opinions were making progress in Kyle; he sent forward some thirty of the worst offenders to be dealt with by the King in Council. They were accused of disparaging the worship of images and relics; of denying that Christ ordained priests to consecrate; of asserting that every faithful man and woman is a priest. To these and other heresies, they seem to have added some odd political notions, derived from the writings of Wyclif or his disciples; they thought it wrong to fight in defence of the faith, and they held that Christ at His coming abrogated the power of secular princes. The Council gave them a fair hearing, and they were duly admonished, but the matter was carried no further. It is likely that some of the thirty were friendly with the King, and it may be that the Archbishop did not press for punishment.

In the year of this trial Elphinstone obtained from Alexander VI (an unedifying Pope, but a very capable man) a bull empowering him to found a university at Aberdeen; the bull was followed by a royal charter; hence the name of King's College. Taught by the experience of the older universities, Elphinstone made careful provision for the maintenance of teachers and scholars: from the outset his foundation acquired a potent influence in the north country. His first principal was Hector Boece, one of a notable band of young Scotsmen who completed their studies at Paris, about the time when Erasmus was a student there. According to his own account, Erasmus brought away from the Collège de Montaigu

only the ailments due to bad food and a plentiful supply of vermin. Boece and his friends no doubt endured the parasitic and other inconveniences of the place, but they brought home a stock of sound scholarship, and enough theology and canon law to furnish them with the weapons which they wielded with effect in the momentous conflicts of the sixteenth century. History was not then a subject taught in universities ; but Boece spent much of his time in turning over the manuscript collections of Bishop Elphinstone ; from these materials he compiled his history of Scotland. The book contains a good many fables and absurdities, but it is of great value, because it gives us a glimpse into the mind of educated Scotland, in the period just preceding the Reformation.

Archbishop Scheves died in 1497 ; the King gave the title and revenues of St. Andrews to his brother the Duke of Ross, a young man of twenty-one ; Alexander VI kindly dispensed with the requirements of the canon law. So far as we can ascertain, the new primate was never consecrated ; he held his titular office only a few years.

CHAPTER XVI

THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY

At the opening of the sixteenth century, the Western Church was greatly in need of reform. Her wisest teachers and her most loyal members acknowledged that plainly enough. But the Reformation, when it came, was a disappointment ; instead of a combined effort we see only a series of local revolutions, and the reformed Churches quarrelled fiercely, not only with Rome, but with one another.

Before the fifteenth century closed, King James had made peace with England ; Blackader, Forman, and other clerical diplomatists were making arrangements for a marriage between the King of Scots and Margaret, daughter of Henry VII. About midsummer 1503 the young princess (she was only fourteen) set out for Scotland with a splendid cavalcade ; the King met her on the Border, and the marriage was duly solemnized at Holyrood. The wedding ode was written by William Dunbar, who had worn the grey gown of St. Francis, and had preached with acceptance through England, and as far south as Picardy. He was now the King's poet, with a pension and the hope of a benefice ; he even dreamed that he might go comfortably to heaven in a bishop's weed ; but the King liked to have his laureate near him, and the Queen found that Dunbar's poetry and wit lightened the tedium of her exile.

In the year of this auspicious marriage, the King's brother died : James gave the archbishopric of St. Andrews to his illegitimate son, Alexander Stewart, a lad of sixteen whose early promise gained him the kindly praise of Erasmus.

In 1507 Bishop Elphinstone added to the long list of his public services by obtaining privileges for Chapman and Myllar, the first printers who came to Edinburgh. A volume of Dunbar's poems was issued from their press, and in 1509

they published the Aberdeen Breviary, compiled and revised by the Bishop himself. Until the Council of Trent, every bishop was permitted to provide his clergy with their breviary—the book which contains the prayers, passages of Scripture, and incidents from lives of the saints which were to be read on each day of the ecclesiastical year. Thus on St. Serf's day (2nd July) Elphinstone gives us the affecting story of a thief who killed and ate a sheep belonging to the monks. This evil man went to the saint and denied his guilt with an oath: whereupon the sheep baaed loudly in his stomach; the robber fell prostrate and confessed his crime. All this, and more of the same kind, the good Bishop believed; but when we read the devotional parts of his book, and compare them with his life, we cannot doubt that he was a true follower of Christ. The 'sweet name of Jesus' was never absent from his thoughts; he lived plainly, that he might set an example and help good causes; he did his best to guide his royal master into the path of peace.

On the 21st April 1509 Henry VII died; Queen Margaret's brother became Henry VIII. He was just eighteen, handsome, accomplished, and popular. A few weeks after his accession he married the Princess Katherine of Aragon, a pious, high-minded lady, a well-instructed Catholic, and a devoted student of the Bible.

England's new king was determined to play a great part in the politics of Europe. Henry was drawn into the schemes of his father-in-law King Ferdinand, and he soon began to think of war with France. He would have carried his brother of Scotland with him, but our 'auld alliance' with France stood the strain; Forman, now Bishop of Moray, was arranging the terms of a working agreement with Louis XII; he received the archbishopric of Bourges as his reward. There are few serious charges against Forman, but his success in accumulating preferments was watched with envious eyes by nobles and churchmen in his own country.

When Henry went to France, James made his rash and fatal attack on England. The Earl of Surrey was in his seventieth year, but his experience and judgment made him

more than a match for his enemy; the disastrous rout at Flodden proved that the King of England could pursue his continental plans, and yet leave an army at home, strong enough to keep the Scots in check. When the good news arrived, Henry wrote to the Pope, asking that the privileges of St. Andrews might be withdrawn, and the Church of Scotland subjected to the Church of England. Leo X did not comply with this request; he distrusted the antipapal legislation of England: he recognized that he might at any time need the help of the more orthodox Scots.

The young Archbishop of St. Andrews fell fighting by his father's side. Shortly before his death he had taken the chief part in founding St. Leonard's College, and this is still the best monument of his short career.

At his father's death James V was an infant; once more the country had to go through the trying experience of a long minority. The Queen-Mother Margaret Tudor made haste to marry the Earl of Angus; Douglases and Hamiltons were constantly at feud; Albany, who governed in the King's name, found the country beyond his control, and went to France, to wait for better times. For the vacant archbishopric three candidates appeared; Gawain Douglas, whose works have given him a high place in our literary annals; Hepburn, Prior of St. Andrews; and the indispensable Forman; Leo X decided in favour of Forman, and the new primate began, with good intentions but with little effect, to reform his clergy and to introduce order where everything was lapsing into chaos. Hepburn was consoled with the bishopric of Moray.

Scotland was still in a state of division and disorder when Luther gave the signal for revolt against Rome. The date emblazoned on many Protestant banners is 1517, but when Dr. Martin published his ninety-five theses in that year his attitude was that of a reforming Catholic, and in 1518 he addressed Leo X as the Vicar of Christ. Very soon it was evident that the German monk would not be left to stand alone against the papal powers. The Pope, ill-informed and unwise, made the mistake of trying to frighten his adversaries.

He excommunicated Luther, and in December 1520 Luther burned the Pope's bull, together with some volumes of the Decretals: the forgeries and absurdities of that compilation had been ruthlessly exposed by the scholars of the fifteenth century. The bonfire at Wittenberg was lighted in December 1520; in the same year Zwingli began his memorable ministry in Zürich.

The character and scope of the movement in Germany were determined by the gifts of the man who began it. Luther was, as we know, a man of courage and sincerity, a great popular leader, and a competent theologian: he called Occam his 'dear master', and knew the works of the Gallican divines by heart. His mode of handling the Bible was in some ways peculiar to himself; he exercised the freedom of a scholar, while rejecting or disparaging what did not square with his version of the truth; but he retained the scholastic notion that it was possible to frame a system of doctrine and practice founded on texts. The dangers of this method had been masked for a long time by the imposing unity of the Western Church, but wherever the authority of the Holy See was set aside it became plain that its place would be occupied, not by one scriptural Church, but by many rival Churches. Luther and Zwingli were equally able to read the New Testament; yet they could not agree as to the meaning of the Eucharist; the difference between them was, and is, fundamental.

Luther's hostility to Rome was a deep-seated feeling expressed in unguarded language. At the outset of his quarrel he adhered to the opinion of those who identified the Pope with Antichrist: an identification which modern commentators do not encourage us to accept. And again, founding himself on the scholastic exposition of the Decalogue, he held that false worship, even if addressed to the true God, was idolatry. The Roman Mass was idolatrous, and a Protestant prince who hesitated to suppress it would bring down plagues on himself and his country. This characteristic tenet seems to me both unnecessary and erroneous. It was unnecessary; for Luther and his friends were in no way commissioned to sit in judgment on the Church of Rome; they were, of course, bound to

withdraw from fellowship with the Roman brother, if they saw that he was 'walking disorderly'. It was erroneous, because it deals in a confident and unqualified manner with a question of real difficulty. The Mass contains a good deal which Protestants would like to see removed, but it contains also the essentials of a true Communion Service. The denial of the cup to the laity is a fatal mistake; but the erring Church half acknowledges this—tries, at least, to explain it away. It is not our duty to decide how far they are wrong; to their own Master (who is our Master) they stand or fall.

The challenge from Wittenberg brought the young King of England into the field with an ably written defence of the Seven Sacraments. Luther said that Henry was an ass and a liar: the controversial manners of the age were bad, and Doctor Martin certainly did nothing to improve them.

In Scotland there was as yet little sign of change. The Queen-Mother was not happy with Angus; a few years after her second marriage she began to think of a divorce. There was constant fighting between Douglases and Hamiltons; in 1520 they met at Edinburgh in the ignoble battle called Cleanse-the-causeway. James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, was there that day, but until the fighting began he disclaimed all knowledge of warlike preparations. To emphasize his denial he struck the breast of his rochet, and the armour beneath gave a tell-tale sound. 'My lord, your conscience clatters,' said Gawain Douglas. The Douglas faction won the day; Beaton fled to Greyfriars for safety; he would have been dragged from the altar, but for the intercession of the same Gawain.

Forman's primacy was uneventful, but he was able, with the aid of his provincial synod, to publish a new body of constitutions, reforming the administration of the marriage laws, and repressing the scandals of non-residence and concubinage among the clergy. It is curious to find a council of bachelors gravely enacting that babies ought to be laid in cradles, lest they should be overlaid by their parents in bed. As a Franco-Scottish prelate, Forman was rather independent in his rela-

tions with the Pope; this may be one cause of his failure to obtain a cardinal's hat: he is said to have got together 5,000 ducats to place his claim properly before the Holy See.

When Forman died, in 1522, he was succeeded by James Beaton, who brought with him from Glasgow some of the best teachers in the university there, especially John Major, who was at that time an oracle in academic circles. Major was the first critical historian of Scotland, and one of the first to perceive the advantages of a closer union with England: in point of doctrine he was always an orthodox Catholic. George Buchanan, already known as a scholar, came to hear Major, wrote satirical verses about his master, and soon drifted back to Paris. About the same time, Patrick Hamilton, titular Abbot of Fearn, completed his studies abroad, and was admitted at St. Andrews as a Master of Arts. Mr. Patrick was a student of philosophy, eager to be done with the sophistry of the schoolmen and return to Aristotle and Plato. He was also proficient in music, and in every way a valuable recruit: but his tendency to the new opinions caused some anxiety to his seniors. The movement in Germany was beginning to affect our Universities, and our seaborne trade afforded opportunities for the importation of Lutheran books.

In 1524 the King, now twelve years old, assumed the government; but this made little difference; the Queen-Mother and the nobles went on as before. An English embassy arrived, with instructions to effect a reconciliation between Margaret and Angus, and to make a match between James and Mary Tudor. The schemes of the English party were much hampered by the primate, who kept himself safe in his castle at St. Andrews, and took care not to attend conferences anywhere near the Border. At Yuletide arrived the primate's nephew 'Mr. Davy Beaton', a capable man of thirty, well qualified to carry on his uncle's work.

In July of the next year, the King opened Parliament in state. Angus was recognized as his adviser and protector. The spiritual estate was placated with an Act forbidding all persons who arrived in ships to import the works of Luther and his disciples: the penalty was to be forfeiture of ship

and goods. The Act was easily evaded, and seems to have produced but little effect.

Queen Margaret's agent at Rome had informed her that 'all would not be contented with 600 ducats', if her divorce was to be granted. The ducats, or a sufficient number of them, were found; for the Pope referred the matter to the Cardinal of Ancona, and in March 1527 she was free from Angus: the reasons, if given, are not on record, but the papal courts had long ceased to regard justice or decency in such matters. Henry of England, a strict moralist, admonished his sister most severely, and Wolsey was directed to protest against the 'shameless sentence' of his brother cardinal. But his sister's divorce may have affected Henry's mind, may have given him an impulse in the direction of independence. He had already ceased to live with Katherine as his wife, and he was cultivating scruples of conscience.

At Lent 1527 the authorities at St. Andrews were beginning to be alarmed about heresy. Patrick Hamilton was in some danger; it was perhaps on a hint from the authorities that he resolved to go abroad again. He went first to Wittenberg, where he saw Luther and Melanchthon; then to Marburg, where he fell under the influence of Lambert, a well-known evangelical divine. With Lambert's advice, Mr. Patrick put together a small collection of Places, i. e. commonplaces, short statements of doctrine, such as a student may enter in his notebook. On his return to Scotland, he preached in the neighbourhood of his brother's house at Kincavel; he married a lady whose name has not been preserved.

In January 1528 Hamilton was summoned to St. Andrews to answer for his opinions. His first examination passed off well; for a time he was allowed to expound his views; his opponents admitted that reforms were urgently needed; Mr. Patrick himself insisted on his doctrinal positions, but he acknowledged that his practical conclusions were arguable. Unfortunately he followed Luther and the rest in maintaining that the Pope was Antichrist; this was, no doubt, a point of difficulty. He was put on trial before the primate and his Council on thirteen charges, and on the 29th February all the

charges were found proven, and the heretic was handed over to the secular arm. The young King was visiting the shrine of St. Duthac at Tain, and in his absence Angus was not likely to intervene on behalf of a Hamilton. As soon as the Council had decided, the warrant for his execution was ready ; being an impenitent heretic, he was burned alive. His youth, his quiet courage, and his attractive personality made a deep impression on the popular mind. A shrewd observer said that the Archbishop should burn his heretics in cellars, for the reek of Mr. Patrick had infected all it blew on.

In the summer of 1528 James V emancipated himself from the tutelage of Angus, and took the government into his own hands. He asserted his authority against Argyle and other great nobles, and made himself enemies in the process. Henry of England heard with joy that his nephew was in trouble, and expected soon to be crowned in Edinburgh. Time and again his armies had swept the border counties of Scotland, wrecking churches and burning castles ; but perhaps the prize might be won by intrigue. Angus, on his fall from power, went to England and became King Henry's man ; others of the nobility were ready to follow his example. Ministers and laymen who were ' put at ' for reading the Scriptures in English slipped southward across the border, and were safe in England. This does not indicate that Henry had any sympathy with the new opinions ; to the end of his life he insisted rigidly on the distinctive points of Catholic doctrine. But his efforts to be freed from his Spanish wife had involved him in a quarrel with the Pope, and his powerful brain marked out at once the lines of a new policy. Founding himself on the old anti-papal statutes, he declared that the Bishop of Rome had no jurisdiction in England ; brought his clergy into direct submission to himself ; made himself, in name and in fact, head of the Church of England.

The plunder of the old Church had already begun. In Germany the reforming princes had made the religious movement an excuse for seizing the revenues of bishoprics and abbeys. They must have watched with sympathy and envy the ruthless campaign of spoliation which now began in England.

It was in 1529 that the German reformers received the party name by which they have long been known. At the Diet of Spires the Catholic majority did not attempt to undo what had been effected by the evangelical princes, but they wished to stop the further progress of reform. Against this decision the minority protested : hence the name of Protestant. In course of time the word was used, with a certain laxity, to include all the local churches which rejected the papal system. The protest is a very remarkable document, but it has no bearing on the controversy just beginning in Scotland.

James V condemned his uncle's disobedience to the Pope ; but their political relations were not greatly disturbed. In 1531 James received an English embassy ; Lord William Howard was the negotiator, and with him came William Barlow, a pamphleteering clergyman, whose opinions kept pace with those of his king. The project of a marriage between James and the Princess Mary was discussed ; it was not favoured by the Scottish Council—might not the princess be tainted with her father's anti-papal errors ? If our statesmen had known of Mary Tudor's loyalty to her mother, Queen Katherine, and to the old Church, the discussion might have taken a different turn. Barlow reported that the Council was ' nothing but the papistical clergy ' : there is truth in the remark, but James had no great choice of advisers. His nobles were in English pay, and his personal favourites were men of inferior abilities. He relied therefore mainly on the Beatons, except where the rights of his crown were concerned.

The King was planning to centralize the administration of the law, and in 1532 the plan of his new College of Justice was drawn by his old tutor Gavin Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow. Of the fourteen judges, seven were to be clergymen, and the Lord President was also to be an ecclesiastic. This preponderance was given because the King was determined to charge the expense of the Court on the revenues of the national Church ; the bishops objected to this, but after a lively controversy they conceded the demand in a modified form.

In 1534 there was a kind of peace with England, and in the following year James recognized Anne Boleyn, and was made

a Knight of the Garter. In Scotland the law of the Church took its regular course. Henry Forrest was burned for agreeing with Patrick Hamilton. David Straton, a recalcitrant laird, and Ninian Gourlay, a priest, were also handed over to the secular arm. They were hanged, near the well at Greenside, and their bodies were burned.

The King resolved to strengthen himself against England by taking a wife from France. David Beaton undertook the mission, performed it with his usual skill, and was rewarded with the French bishopric of Mirepoix ; but James rejected the lady first proposed to him ; he was captivated by the fragile beauty of the Princess Magdalene. The marriage was solemnized in Notre Dame, and in the spring of 1537 the King and his bride set sail for Scotland. As they passed along the coast of Yorkshire, parties of gentlemen put out to make their compliments to the King of Scots. They spoke bitterly of Henry's tyranny, and James declared that he would bend spears with England, if he lived. The incident is important, because it shows us why neither Henry nor Elizabeth succeeded in making good the claim to paramount authority in Scotland. The sturdy Catholics of northern England did not mean to be put out of their own Church merely because their King had quarrelled with the Pope. They stood fast in the old paths, until their resistance was extinguished in blood.

Queen Magdalene gained the hearts of the people at once, but the year of her coming was a year of sorrows. Angus was still plotting against his country, and his kindred in Scotland had to bear the blame. The Master of Forbes was the first victim ; and in July the beautiful Lady Glammis was burned on the Castle Hill at Edinburgh for ' conspiring the death of the King '. A heavier blow fell when the young Queen died of a rapid decline, and was laid to rest in Holyrood.

The Pope, Paul III, was not himself a reformer, but he was surrounded by reforming Catholics, men of power and wisdom, who urged him to summon a general Council, and so put an end to the confusion of Western Christendom. Efforts were made to comply with this demand, but nothing was done ; the Pope was not in earnest, and the state of European politics

was not favourable to calm deliberation. From the papal point of view, England was the enemy to be feared, and Scotland therefore was worth conciliating. So the Count Campeggio brought King James a cap and sword blessed by the Holy Father, and addressed him as defender of the faith ; a direct insult to King Henry, who had been given that title for his *Defence of the Sacraments.*

In Henry's life this was a year of joy and grief ; his son Edward, Prince of Wales, was born in October ; a few days later the Queen, Jane Seymour, died. The King of England felt it his duty to marry again ; he had to think of the public interest ; and he began to fix his thoughts upon a lady not unworthy to take Jane Seymour's place. Mary of Guise was the eldest of a distinguished group of brothers and sisters. Her brother Francis, who became Duke of Guise, was a soldier ; her brother Charles, the Cardinal of Lorraine, was an accomplished diplomatist. Mary herself had been married very young to the Duke of Longueville ; she was now a widow. She had borne the Duke two sons, one of whom died in infancy.

Henry's hopes were disappointed ; for David Beaton was again in France, to arrange a marriage between his master and Mary of Guise. King Francis could not but see the advantage he gained by adhering to the old alliance with Scotland. In the summer of 1538 Mary landed at Crail and was honourably conveyed to St. Andrews, where Beaton performed the marriage ceremony. The King wrote repeatedly to the Pope, asking that David Beaton might be a cardinal ; when the request was supported by the King of France, it was granted without delay.

In 1539 the old Archbishop died ; his nephew had for some time been recognized as his successor. David Beaton was able and accomplished ; a devoted champion of Scottish independence ; a believer in the ecclesiastical system which he represented. The popular tradition of his immorality, though often denied by Catholic authors, has now been proved by documentary evidence which leaves no room for any difference of opinion ; his children were made legitimate by Acts of the

Scottish Parliament, and well endowed at the expense of the national Church.

Four heretics had suffered death, and heresy continued to spread. Beaton became primate in January and proceeded to justify his promotion by increased severity. On the 1st March, five men were burned at Edinburgh: Thomas Forret, vicar of Dollar, a good parish priest who expounded the Scriptures to the people; Duncan Simson, a priest; Henry Forrester, who was in minor orders; there were also two friars, Beveridge and Keillor; the latter was accused of writing a play in which the prelates and clergy were satirized. Later in the year two more were given to the flames at Glasgow: Jerome Russell, a friar, and Ninian Kennedy, a young lad, said to be skilled in Scottish poetry. Scotland became an unsafe residence for scholars. Teachers and preachers who spoke their minds too freely now found it safer to live abroad. Alane or Aless (Alesius), McAlpine (Machabaeus), Gavin Logie, Principal of St. Leonard's, George Buchanan, all went into exile. Even good churchmen had to leave if their sermons gave offence to the higher clergy. Alexander Seaton, the king's confessor, was driven to England, apparently because he denounced the exorbitant power of the prelacy; he was protected by Bishop Gardiner, and cannot therefore have been an extreme Protestant. Friar Airth, described by Knox as a preacher who jested at the tricks of the priests, also went to England, where he was put in prison by King Henry for defending the authority of the Pope.

In January 1540 James kept the feast of the Epiphany at Linlithgow: an 'interlude' was presented—probably some portions of Sir David Lindsay's *Satire of the Three Estates*, in which the vices of the clergy gave an excuse for a liberal allowance of indecency. Lindsay was hard on priests and monks, but it is worth noting that he spoke well of the friars. 'Devotion is fled into the Freris' is a phrase often quoted. The old Church was full of gross evils, but it was not a 'synagogue of Satan', as the Reformers too hastily concluded. When the play was over, the King spoke sharply to Dunbar and other bishops present; if they did not mend their ways,

he would send six of the proudest to his uncle in England. If James had begun by mending his own ways, his rebuke would have been more impressive ; the Church was not likely to be reformed under a king who provided for his bastard sons by giving them the richest abbeys and priories.

The King's words were duly reported to King Henry ; once more there seemed to be some hope that James would follow his uncle's example. In his more important communications with Scotland, Henry employed Ralph Sadler, a sensible young man recommended to him by Thomas Cromwell. Once more this trusty agent took the northern road, to point out that plundering abbeys was a more kingly way of getting money than keeping cattle and sheep ; he was also to make another attempt to arrange a meeting at York. The Scottish Council never would allow their king to go further than Newcastle : they suspected Henry of wishing to kidnap his guest, and we know now that their suspicions were well founded.

In March 1541 James held his last Parliament. The spiritual estate was strongly represented ; an Act was passed for the punishment of those who withheld the worship due to the Blessed Virgin ; to deny the authority of the Pope was made a capital offence. At the same time, the anti-papal spirit of the nation was displayed in two Acts, one forbidding clerks to carry appeals to Rome, the other providing that no legate should be received in Scotland. This blow was aimed at Beaton, who was in Rome, trying to obtain legatine powers.

When Mary of Guise came to Scotland she was pleased with her new country, and the people were pleased with the queen—a tall, handsome lady of gracious manners. Her life with the King was not all happiness ; she bore him two sons ; but the younger died, and the elder soon followed him to the grave. Mary was a woman of many sorrows ; she had learned from her mother to find comfort in the exercises of her religion. Her devotion would not command our sympathy if we accepted Knox's account of her private life ; but his tales are not supported by evidence.

In 1542 the Queen was expecting to be again a mother ; the King, broken in health, hampered by faction and treachery,

was girding himself to make a stand against the encroaching tyranny of England. The 24th November witnessed the shameful rout of Solway Moss. God fought against Scotland that day, says Mr. Knox, but it needs no miracle to account for the defeat of men who quarrelled fiercely in presence of the enemy.

From Lochmaben the King drifted northwards to Edinburgh and Fife; in the early days of December he lay dying at Falkland. On the 8th came a messenger galloping from Linlithgow with news that a daughter was born; a few days later, the King breathed his last. The infant Mary was Queen; but who was to govern in her name? There was a notarial instrument, naming a council of regency, of whom Beaton was to be one; but this paper was not acted on. Arran told Sadler that the Cardinal had used the dying hand of the King to sign a blank paper; but when he told this tale Arran was Beaton's enemy. There was another story of a scroll found in the King's pocket, containing 360 names of persons marked out by the Cardinal for persecution; but this also lacks confirmation. Before the end of the year, Arran was installed as Governor of the realm. He claimed to be next heir to the Crown after Mary Stewart. He was a vain, rather timid man, who had 'five purposes in three minutes': at this time he was veering toward the new opinions; he listened to two Protestant preachers, Gwilliam and Rough, both of whom had worn the black gown of St. Dominic. It was from Gwilliam that John Knox had his 'first taste of the truth'. Beaton was now in danger; he was arrested and placed in the friendly custody of Lord Seton; this perhaps was to prevent the Governor from handing his rival over to King Henry.

When the Estates met in March 1543, the Protestants mustered strong and secured the conduct of business. An Act was passed, permitting all people to read the Scriptures in English or Scots; the bishops protesting, on the ground that the matter should first have been referred to a council of the Church. In England persons of substance had been permitted to read any version of the Bible except Tyndale's; the Scots Act was wider in its terms. Commissioners were appointed to

arrange a marriage between the Queen, three months old, and Prince Edward, who was entering his sixth year. This was a good project, but it was also a tactical blunder ; the English alliance was intensely unpopular : the merchants feared to lose their trade with France, and the common people hated the tyrant who had slain so many of their sons. The Cardinal saw his opportunity ; he drew together a sufficient force ; carried the Queen and her mother safely to Stirling ; and resumed his ascendancy over the weaker mind of Arran. On the 25th August the Governor signed the treaties with England ; a few days later he slipped away to Callander House, met Beaton by appointment, and rode with him to Stirling ; there, in the church of the Greyfriars, he renounced his Protestant errors, and there he was present when the Cardinal placed the crown on the baby head of Mary Stewart. The treaties were repudiated. When the Estates met again in December, the Governor and the Cardinal obtained the full approval of parliament ; King Henry promised himself an ample revenge.

It was probably in 1543 that George Wishart returned to Scotland. He was at this time about thirty years of age, and he belonged to a well-known family of officials and lairds. In 1534 Erskine of Dun had brought a Frenchman, Marsilier, to teach Greek in the burgh school of Montrose, and the young Wishart appears to have been an assistant teacher there. He may have been in trouble as a heretic, and may even have ' borne his fagot ' as a recanting heretic at Bristol ; but there were several Wisharts taking part in the controversies of the time, and it is difficult to be precise. George Wishart certainly visited several foreign universities ; he resided for a time in Corpus Christi College, Cambridge, where he took pupils, one of whom, Emery Tylney, has left us a faithful account of Wishart's holy life and methodical charities. In Scotland he found that Protestant opinions had been gaining ground in his absence ; a large proportion of the lairds in the Lothians, Fife, and the Mearns were hostile to the Cardinal ; in Ayrshire also there was a strong contingent of sympathizers. Some of the East Lothian men were discussing plans for the murder of their chief enemy ; and King Henry allowed his agents to

intimate quietly that the man who delivered him from David Beaton would earn his gratitude and favour.

In January 1544 the Cardinal visited Perth, where heresy was rife ; the Governor attended to represent the secular arm. Five men were hanged, apparently for disputing in the Scriptures and interrupting the authorized preachers. One woman was drowned ; it was said that she was condemned for refusing to invoke the assistance of the Blessed Virgin in childbirth.

In April a Scottish man named Wishart had an interview with Henry VIII ; the subject of conversation was the removal of the Cardinal. There were, as I said before, several Wisharts : Mr. George, being a Cambridge man, was not unlikely to be entrusted with a mission to England ; but the point is not clear.

On the 3rd May the English fleet appeared in the Frith of Forth. The chosen instrument of Henry's purpose was the Earl of Hertford, Jane Seymour's eldest brother ; his instructions were to destroy Leith and Edinburgh, so that they might remain as a monument of God's vengeance on Scottish perfidy ; he was also to attack St. Andrews. He came in such force that resistance was impossible ; the Cardinal and the Governor kept out of his way, and the little Queen was taken to Dunkeld. Leith was destroyed ; great part of Edinburgh was burned ; the invaders went within sight of Stirling ; then they turned homeward, and there was another purposeless raid through the border counties ; the great abbeys suffered much damage. In 1545 the unsuccessful invasion of Lord Evers made it necessary for Hertford to appear on the scene ; pillage and fire were again the order of the day. The English soldiers refused to burn the crops, and Irish troops were employed for this purpose. Another incident of 1545 indicates that the great churchmen were not, on occasion, less disorderly than the nobles. The Governor, the Queen-dowager, and the Cardinal visited Glasgow, and Beaton insisted that his cross should be carried before him ; this was the privilege of his legatine rank. Dunbar probably thought that the Act of 1541 took away the privilege ; he, or his men, resolved that the Archbishop's cross should go first in his own cathedral. There was a lively scuffle, and Knox had the materials for an amusing passage of picturesque reporting.

During this year of trouble Wishart was gaining steadiily in the esteem of his countrymen. He preached at Dundee and went west to Ayr, where he preached to a large congregation at the market-cross, while Archbishop Dunbar, if we may accept Knox's account, made a feeble appeal to a small audience in the neighbouring church. In August, Wishart was back in Dundee ; the plague was in the town, and the preacher spoke with power from a text, good for sick men or whole, *He sent His Word and healed them.* He went on tending the sick and instructing the ignorant, and for a time he escaped the snares of his enemies. A priest who came to hear him was found to have a dagger with him, and was disarmed by the preacher himself ; on another occasion an ambush was laid for him on the road to Montrose. Later in the year, Wishart crossed over to Leith and preached there. He visited Haddington, but there the authority of the Earl of Bothwell, sheriff of Lothian, deterred the people from hearing the new doctrine ; Wishart spoke solemnly of the punishment which might fall on those who refused to hear the messenger of God. Among his own disciples he was regarded as a prophet, and the saying was remembered.

During his journey in Lothian, Wishart was attended by a disciple, a man about his own age, who carried a sword before him ; in this characteristic guise John Knox makes his entry on the public stage. Wishart was a gentleman by birth, an important matter in those days ; Knox was descended from peasant farmers, holding their land under the Hepburns, Earls of Bothwell. His family may have been well-to-do, for William Knox was a successful merchant, and John was sent to the University, where he acquired a competent knowledge of Latin, logic, and divinity. He received priest's orders, but obtained no preferment ; he acted as a notary, and resided in the families of several East Lothian lairds as tutor and chaplain. Of his religious life in the old Church we know nothing ; when he accepted the new opinions he entered at once on a course of vehement opposition to the old system. The Pope was Antichrist ; the Mass was idolatry ; the Church of Rome had not one of the marks of a true Church ; from these conclusions Knox never varied for a moment.

Before we leave the year 1545 we note that on the 13th December, while Wishart was in Lothian, the General Council which was to reunite the Western Church held its first meeting at Trent. In this momentous assembly Scotland had no share.

When the year 1546 came in, Wishart was going on with his work, but he felt that his end was near. He sent Knox back to his pupils and went himself to Ormiston ; Cockburn, the laird, was one of his supporters. In the middle of the night, the Earl of Bothwell was at the door to arrest the heretical preacher ; it is said that he promised not to hand his prisoner over to the Cardinal ; but the Privy Council were perhaps not bound by the sheriff's promise. Wishart was sent to St. Andrews, and placed on trial there at the end of February. Knox gives a graphic account of the trial, embellished or disfigured by some touches of his usual burlesque. He makes it plain that the ecclesiastical judges had no choice ; they could not acquit the accused without declaring themselves heretics. Arran took no conspicuous part in the proceedings ; he probably gave the warrant for execution ; he may have mitigated the penalty, for Wishart was not burned alive. He was strangled, and his body was burned, on an open space in front of the castle. The Cardinal witnessed the execution : the tradition that Wishart prophesied his persecutor's death is very possibly true ; but we have to remember that the Protestant *Acta Sanctorum* were now being compiled, and that a mixture of legend was admitted.

The Cardinal had many enemies besides those whom he persecuted for their religion. He had a feud with the Leslies of Fife, arising out of some quarrel about land. John Leslie declared that his right hand and his dagger should be priests to the Cardinal. Beaton had appointed the gentlemen of Fife to meet him on Monday the 31st May, and he probably meant to take order with his adversaries then ; but this ' treasonable purpose ' he did not live to carry out. On Friday, the 28th, there was a meeting at St. Andrews. John Leslie was there, his nephew Norman, a laird named Stevenson, and others. In the course of the following night, the conspirators seized the castle and murdered the Cardinal. Kirkaldy the younger, of Grange, kept the postern gate, lest their victim should escape that way.

Knox tells the story with triumphant glee, not pleasant to contemplate.

Stevenson had attempted to give the murder the air of a solemn retribution ; it was, in fact, a brutal and cowardly crime, and, like many crimes, it failed of the intended effect. The immediate result of Beaton's death was an accession of strength to the French and Catholic party. Arran gave up the idea of marrying his son to the infant Queen, and agreed that she should marry a French prince ; the Estates declared the murder to be treason ; a proper letter was written to the Pope. From September to December the Governor was busy besieging the castle, where the conspirators held out, relying on the strength of the place, and the help of England ; but Henry was old and ill, and had many troubles. In December there was a truce, a treacherous truce Knox calls it, but then he was one of those good party men who see treachery wherever their cause is not successful. The castle men stipulated that they should receive papal absolution for the death of the Cardinal ; they then wrote to their friends in England, suggesting that the Emperor might be induced to put pressure on the Pope to delay the absolution. When at last it arrived, they said they would rather have a boll of meal.

In the opening months of 1547 two well-graced actors left the stage of European politics. King Henry died on the 28th January ; Edward VI, just nine years old, reigned in his stead ; the substance of power was seized by our familiar Hertford, who made himself Duke of Somerset and Protector of the Realm ; he was an intelligent Protestant, but vain, rapacious, and in time unpopular. On the 31st March Francis I died, and Henry II became King of France—a man of some talent and some good impulses, demoralized by the splendid selfish life of the French court. His Queen, Catherine de' Medici, was not yet a power in politics ; the most important lady in France was the King's chief mistress, Madame de Valentinois, an orthodox formal personage, twenty years older than her royal pupil and lover.

At Easter the conspirators at St. Andrews received a notable recruit. John Knox, who had probably been in trouble with

the ecclesiastical authorities, ' lap into the castle,' and brought some of his pupils with him. The castle men came and went freely in the town, and they had already earned an extremely bad reputation ; Knox boldly denounced their wicked lives, but he probably effected no improvement in their conduct. Having access to the town churches, he catechized his pupils in Holy Trinity, South Street, and engaged in controversy with certain priests and friars ; he had, according to his own narrative, a series of easy victories ; but I hesitate to believe that the Catholic clergy were as stupid as Knox would have us believe. They were average men, embarrassed by the feeling that their Church was lapsing into discredit, unwilling perhaps to face an opponent who had the castle men at his back. In May or June John Rough, Arran's former chaplain, summoned Knox to undertake the ministry of preaching. Knox wept, and ran out of the church ; but he had found his vocation, and began at once to denounce the Church of Rome. John Major, who was spending his declining years at St. Andrews, went to hear the new doctrine ; but the old scholar was not convinced by the vehement discourses of his pupil.

Henry of France had not forgotten the Catholic party in Scotland. In June a squadron of French galleys appeared off St. Andrews ; the commander, Leo Strozzi, was an Italian in French service ; he had been a priest, and he was still known as the Prior of Capua. The siege was now pressed, and before the end of July terms of surrender were arranged. Again Knox suggests that the agreement was broken ; but the castle men were beaten and could not expect better terms than they got. Their leaders were carried to France ; the gentlemen, such as Kirkaldy and Balnaves, were sent to various prisons ; the lowborn or less important men, of whom Knox was one, were chained to the oar and became galley-slaves. When the galleys were at sea, their sufferings were terrible ; there were intervals of inaction on shore during which they enjoyed some liberty. Balnaves wrote his treatise on Justification in prison at Rouen ; he was able to send it to Knox, who supplied a recommendatory epistle.

Somerset on his side had not forgotten the perfidy of the

Scots, and in the autumn he made another of his purposeless raids. Angus, now redeeming his character as a Scots patriot, led the army of defence. At Pinkie we had the advantage in numbers and in choice of ground ; the Scots camp was full of priests and friars, promising victory over the heretics, but the day ended in a defeat more disgraceful than Solway Moss. While Somerset was in Scotland the little Queen was taken to Inchmahone, the island in Loch Menteith. Eight days after his victory, Somerset was hurrying back to London, where his enemies were already plotting against him. His most dangerous rival was Lord Lisle, soon to be Earl of Warwick and Duke of Northumberland, a capable, brave, good-natured man, who sought the support of Catholics and Protestants, and broke his promises to both.

In January 1548 it was definitely agreed that Mary should marry the Dauphin ; Arran was rewarded with the Dukedom of Chatelherault, and undertook to hand over the Queen of Scots and her fortresses to the French. This was almost annexation ; but Scotland, divided by faction-fighting, could not stand alone ; and many thought it better to submit to the ' old ally ' than to the nearer and therefore less tolerable supremacy of England.

During one of their raids the English had thrown a garrison into Haddington, and an effort must be made to turn them out. In June a force of 6,000 French landed at Leith and sat down before Haddington. The townsfolk suffered much, as one may suppose ; many good men thought this was the fulfilment of Wishart's prophecy.

On the 7th July a Parliament was held in the abbey just outside the town ; the old alliance and the new marriage treaty were confirmed, and the Queen-dowager began to prepare for her daughter's departure. While the French were fighting on land, their ships prowled along the coast ; once more the galleys appeared off St. Andrews. A Scottish man named Knox told his neighbour on one of the rowing-benches the name of the town, and prophesied that he would himself live to glorify God again in that place.

It was not safe to send the Queen by the east coast ; the

French ships went right round Scotland, and the royal party embarked at Dumbarton. Early in August, Mary landed at Roscoff in Brittany, and was taken to St. Germain-en-Laye, where the royal children were. In that nursery she must have taken the lead, for she was some weeks older than the Dauphin, two years older than her constant companion the Princess Elizabeth, and much cleverer than either.

Knox's prophecy came true ; he was released, early in 1549, at the instance of Edward VI, went at once to England, and was settled as a preacher at Berwick. He enjoyed the protection of Lord Lisle, now Earl of Warwick, the most powerful person on the English border ; his nominal chief pastor was Tunstall, Bishop of Durham, a scholarly conservative, who was holding back against the current of reform. At this time both clergy and laity in the Church of England inclined to Tunstall rather than to Knox ; they were fairly satisfied with the first prayer-book of King Edward. If Knox ever used that book in his ministrations, he must have used it with a grudge, for it prescribes vestments and other things which he regarded with indiscriminating contempt.

When Cardinal Beaton was slain, the Governor had secured the primacy for his illegitimate brother, John Hamilton, a prelate who occupies a small and inglorious place in the history of the Church. Like a true Hamilton, he put the interests of his own family before all other considerations. Circumstances compelled him to preside at Councils and to join in the movement of reform, but he was embarrassed by the notoriety of his own offences against the canon law. Grizel Sempill occupies in his life the place which was occupied by Marion Ogilvy in the life of Beaton.

In August a Provincial Council was held at Linlithgow, and in November the Council met again in the Blackfriars church at Edinburgh. There was a good muster of bishops and heads of religious houses, and the Lord James Stewart came also among them : a lad of eighteen, son of James V and Margaret Erskine, titular prior of the Augustinian house at St. Andrews since he was six years old. His opinions were still undecided, and something depended on his decision.

The main object of this Provincial Council was to adopt the substance of the reforming decrees already passed by the Council of Trent. Our Protestant forefathers paid no attention to the General Council, and contented themselves with a compendious repudiation of its 'devilish decrees'. Those decrees must be studied with a little sympathy before their full importance is apparent. No student who compares the Church of Rome, as she was in 1545 and as she has been in subsequent ages, can fail to perceive that the Council of Trent did much to improve the learning and lives of her clergy. At a later stage I shall attempt to show how it was that the Council of Trent succeeded where so many previous Councils had failed.

It is not necessary to give the laws made by our Scottish Council in detail. They are often quoted to prove that what the Protestants said of the unreformed clergy was, in substance, true. It is difficult to obtain any light on the further question, how many *good* clergymen there were; we know that there were bishops like Reid and priests like Winzet, and for every such man who put himself on record by managing a diocese or writing a book there must have been many who lived and died obscure.

On the 4th April 1550 Knox was summoned to argue before Bishop Tunstall and the Council of the North in support of his favourite thesis, that the Mass is idolatry. This argument has been preserved, and we turn to it in the hope of finding a reasoned justification of this popular opinion. But Knox's address is little more than a series of strong assertions; I do not think any modern scholar would maintain that it proves the proposition laid down. Tunstall made no reply; he and his diocese were much in danger of being 'visited' by active politicians who would adopt Knox's opinion, or any opinion, if it gave them an excuse for plunder.

In Scotland the Catholic party was now almost free from anxiety; the Queen-dowager resolved to spend a year with her daughter in France; in September the Prior of Capua came again with his galleys, and before the end of the month she met Mary and the King of France at Rouen. The English agents in France watched her proceedings narrowly, and soon they were

able to note with satisfaction that Henry was not eager to make any great sacrifice for Scotland.

We may be sure that Mary of Guise made careful inquiry as to the progress of her daughter's education. The French court was full of dangers for young people brought up within the range of its influence ; and some of those who accompanied the Queen of Scots had shown themselves untrustworthy. While she was still a child, the Queen would naturally spend most of her days with her teachers ; she became in time exceptionally skilful with needle and pen, and her exercises, though not remarkable, show that the solid part of her education was not neglected. She acquired French without losing her Scots ; she learned also a modicum of Latin, but could not speak it fluently, as churchmen and diplomatists then did. In regard to her religious instruction the Queen-dowager consulted her brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine. The youth of this eminent man had not been wholly exempt from scandal, but when he became a bishop he threw himself with ardour into the duties of his office. He was a student of the Bible, and he found in Holy Scripture as he believed full warranty for all the rules of his Church. As for the irregular worship which the Protestants had introduced into the great towns of France, it was not commanded by God ; therefore it was in the nature of idolatry ; therefore the most Christian king was bound to suppress and punish it. In principle the Cardinal agreed with Mr. Knox, but they differed in the application.

In the autumn of 1551 the Queen-dowager parted, for the last time, from her daughter, and took ship for Portsmouth. She visited the English Court, and was duly astonished by the wisdom of the young King. Perhaps the old marriage-project was cautiously mentioned, but that plan was not to be revived. By the end of November the Queen-dowager was in Edinburgh.

Knox's ministry in the Church of England lasted about five years, and was attended by considerable success. At Berwick he found disciples and friends, among whom we ought to name Mrs. Richard Bowes, a Yorkshire heiress, married to the third son of a notable English family. She was a pious woman, full of doubts and fears which caused much ' fashery of body ' and

disquiet of mind to her spiritual adviser. In his letters to her we have glimpses of Knox's own inner life ; we can watch the growth of that earnest and ruthless temper which was coming to be known as Puritanism.

From Berwick he was moved to Newcastle. Scots Protestants, who wished to escape their own government, settled there to attend his ministry ; there was more traffic between them and their friends at home than Warwick altogether approved. At the end of 1551 Knox was appointed one of King Edward's chaplains, with a salary of £40, then equivalent to a modest competence. It may have been at this point that Mrs. Bowes began to think of marrying her minister to one of her daughters.

In the history of the Church of England the year 1552 is an important era, because it witnessed the composition and publication of the second prayer-book of King Edward. A majority of the bishops and clergy would have been content with minor changes, but the reforming party was strong at Court, and they pressed their advantage. The Communion Service was so altered that many churchmen feared they were being committed to Zwinglian doctrine. Vestments were forbidden, and only the surplice (which is not a sacerdotal garment) was retained ; the Puritans objected to it simply because it reminded them of Rome ; and thus began the prolonged controversy which turned on the difference between a black gown and a white one. The last question for settlement related to the practice of kneeling at the communion. As this was, in later years, a burning question in Scotland, a few words of explanation may not be out of place.

At the first institution of the Eucharist, our Lord and His disciples sat or reclined on couches ; the attitude is one which we Western people cannot with any comfort adopt. In the early days of the Church, many congregations stood up, in token of joy and confidence, when they received the communion. For twelve centuries and more all members of the Western Church had received kneeling. This attitude implies adoration, and the vital question now at issue was, To Whom, or to what, is this adoration addressed ? There were, no doubt, superstitious Catholics who worshipped before the wafer and

the chalice; in such cases there was a colour of reason in the contention that the Mass was idolatry; but every instructed Catholic knows that his worship is addressed to Christ present in the sacrament. If we seek to determine the exact mode of Christ's presence, we find ourselves at once in the region of metaphysical theory. There is nothing to exclude the hope that Christian men holding different theories may be willing to receive the same communion.

Knox, of course, maintained that our Lord's action was done 'sitting not kneeling'; he attached perhaps too little importance to the fact that the actual position of our Lord was one which no Western Church can retain. As one of the King's Chaplains, he was summoned to London to take part in the final discussion. In the result, the rule as to kneeling was allowed to stand, but an explanation was added, to the effect that worship of the bread and wine was not intended. This decision gave some offence to both parties.

While this debate was in progress, Warwick, now Duke of Northumberland, was writing to recommend Knox for the Bishopric of Rochester. Removed to the safer latitude of Kent, Knox, he said, would be a 'whetstone' for Archbishop Cranmer, and a great confounder of Anabaptists; also the 'family of Scots' at Newcastle would be broken up, and their friends would not slip over the Border to see them, 'which is not requisite.' Knox declined the bishopric: he took no objection to episcopacy, and, indeed, he never attained to the abstract presbytery, introduced into Scotland by Andrew Melville; but he had 'foresight of trouble'. A little later he had the offer of a living in the city of London, but this, too, he declined, explaining that in his view the Church of England was not perfectly reformed; he repeated his argument against kneeling at the communion.

The year which provided England with the prayer-book witnessed the last attempt of Catholics in Scotland to place their system in a favourable light before the people. A council which met in January had directed the preparation of a Catechism, not a series of questions and answers, but a brief statement of doctrine, from which the less learned of the clergy

could read extracts to their people on Sundays and holy days. The book, which was published in the autumn, goes by the name of Archbishop Hamilton's ; it was probably written by Sub-prior Winram. No careful reader can fail to see that it was written with a conciliatory purpose ; the Pope is not once mentioned, and the distinctive Catholic doctrines are explained and vindicated with undeniable skill and good feeling. Great part of the book is devoted to an exposition of the ten commandments ; this we might with advantage have retained.

At the Lent season of 1553, the Puritan party at the English Court made a concerted effort to accelerate the process of reformation, and the young King listened to a series of stringent sermons. Knox had his turn with the rest, and this gave him an opportunity to compare the King's worldly advisers with Shebna the scribe, and other undesirable Old Testament characters. In summer he was moved to the county of Bucks, but he kept his hold on the north of England, and it was probably at this time that he was betrothed to Marjory Bowes. The men of her family disliked the alliance, but Mrs. Bowes persevered and had her way.

On the 6th July Edward VI died. Northumberland tried, and failed, to bring the English crown into his own family by setting up his daughter-in-law, Lady Jane Grey or Dudley ; he could not prevail against the evident right of the Princess Mary. There was some reason to hope that the new reign would be peaceful ; Mary was, in many ways, the best of the Tudors ; in every crisis of her life she displayed high courage, and earnest devotion to duty. But she chose for her intimate advisers two bishops, Gardiner and Bonner, who thought only of reversing all that had been done in King Edward's time. Catholics raised their heads, and Protestants were full of fears. When the winter drew in, Knox went to his friends in Newcastle ; early in 1554 he sought safety on the continent : he blamed himself for not staying to face persecution, but he blamed himself unjustly : a Christian preacher must accept martyrdom if it comes in the course of his duty ; he is not bound to throw himself upon his enemy's sword.

In January 1554 Knox was at Dieppe, already a centre of

Protestant preaching; in March he set out again on his travels. His mind was working constantly on the practical issue, as it now presented itself to his disciples in England. Could a woman rule by divine right? Were subjects bound to obey a prince who permitted idolatry? To obtain an answer to these questions he went to Geneva, the capital of militant Protestantism.

Calvin was then at the height of his power. The recent execution of Servetus had gained him the warm approval of Protestant divines; he was known to scholars as the author of the *Institutes*, probably the greatest book of the Reformation period. In the city of his adoption he was now supreme, and the polity he established there was one in which, as in the christianized Empire, Church and State were not merely united but identified. Calvin was a statesman; he gave Knox only a guarded reply to his questions, and sent him on to Bullinger, who was equally vague. To say that Knox was satisfied with the answers he received is not quite accurate. He was satisfied that his own principles were sound; but his principles, when they appeared in print, were not well received by Calvin.

While Knox was thus undermining her daughter's authority, Mary of Guise obtained the position she had long wished to occupy. The Duke of Chatelherault ceased to be Governor, and in April the Queen-dowager was made Queen Regent. To place a crown on the head of a woman was, Mr. Knox declared, like placing a saddle on the back of an unruly cow. While the Scottish Parliament was taking this important step, Mary Stewart, at Meudon, was receiving her first communion, and praying that she might 'make a good beginning'.

In July Knox was back in Dieppe, to learn the state of England. He had written letter after letter to his friends there, and at last he poured out all the vials of his wrath in a pamphlet, known as the *Faithful Admonition*: he inveighed against the English bishops—'wicked Winchester, dreaming Durham, and butcherly Bonner'; he denounced Mary Tudor, her husband Philip of Spain, and Philip's father the Emperor. Returning to Geneva, he received an invitation which, with some hesitation, he accepted. Some English exiles, fleeing from the Marian

persecution, had settled at Frankfort, and secured the use of the French church for their services; then they began to dispute rather hotly what their service was to be. One party wanted King Edward's book; the other party preferred the Genevan ideal, a service purged of everything that savoured of the old Church. Knox arrived among them in November; he took, of course, the Genevan side, but he made some concessions to the other side. It was agreed that the objections to the English book should be referred to Calvin, and as that great scholar did not read English, a description (not quite a fair description) of the prayer-book was drawn up in Latin. Calvin's opinion, when it came, was not of great value; the book, he thought, contained 'follies, but such as may be borne with'. He added some strictures on those who quarrel about ceremonies; each party probably thought this was just the advice the other party needed.

This dispute does not belong to Scottish history, but it helps us to understand the reasons which Scotland thought sufficient to justify her in rejecting the forms of worship used by her English neighbours. The first objection taken to the prayer-book turned on the responses; the Puritans were especially hard on the Litany, a beautiful composition, imbued with a true devotional spirit. There is something strangely perverse in this contention. All Protestants should have aimed at making their worship congregational, but the Calvinist congregation was to have no share in any service but that of praise. Rome had conceived public worship as a ritual, understood only by the priest; Geneva went far to turn it into a monologue by the minister.

Other points in dispute were the surplice, and the practice of kneeling at the communion; of these we have already had occasion to speak. There were also objections to the cross in baptism and the ring in marriage. On the question of the ring the Puritans were ultimately defeated by the obstinacy of the Puritan ladies, who would not dispense with the visible symbol of their status as married women.

In March 1555 the congregation at Frankfort was reinforced by the arrival of another party of exiles, headed by Dr. Cox,

a person of some importance, who had been tutor to King Edward and to the Princess Elizabeth. The newcomers at once refused to be bound by the compromise as to worship. Not content with saying their own responses in church, they represented to the chief magistrate that Knox was a dangerous man, who had described the Emperor himself as being ' no less an enemy to Christ than was Nero '. The authorities decided that Knox must leave the town ; he preached a farewell sermon in his own lodgings, and returned to Geneva.

Later in the year he was summoned by Mrs. Bowes to the aid of his friends in England ; he spent some time at Berwick, and went on to Edinburgh ; he wrote thence to his ' mother ', Mrs. Bowes, expressing his delight with the ' fervency ' he saw around him. It is plain that the Regent was allowing a considerable measure of religious liberty ; she was good-natured, eager to win all hearts for her daughter's throne, and not under clerical influence. It was noted of her that she ' did not love the priors ', and she was writing to the Pope, Paul IV, to obtain his sanction for heavier taxation of the clergy. Her request was supported by Cardinal Sermoneta, who visited Scotland, and sent a very unfavourable report of the country to Rome. The nunneries, he wrote, were in a bad state, especially those of the Cistercian order. The secular clergy were alienating their lands, and engaging in secular trades.

Knox was passed on from one friend to another ; at many great houses he preached and administered the sacraments. Among those who listened to him were two young men destined for high positions—Lord Lorn, heir to the immense power of Argyle, and the Lord James Stewart. At the house of Erskine of Dun, Knox met William Maitland of Lethington, ' the flower of the wits of Scotland,' then serving the Regent. He consulted the preacher on the question whether a Christian man might attend Mass as part of his official duty ; Knox, of course, answered with a decided negative. Maitland quoted the words of St. James when he directed St. Paul to purify himself in the temple. ' I greatly doubt,' said Knox, ' whether either James's commandment or Paul's obedience proceeded from the Holy Ghost.'

Knox's friends wished him to write a letter to the Queen Regent, and he complied with their request. He addressed her as a princess 'endowed with wisdom and graces singular', and there is nothing in his appeal to offend her dignity. How much of it she read we cannot say; she handed the letter to James Beaton, Archbishop of Glasgow, with the words, 'Please you, my lord, to read a pasquil.' Knox made her pay dearly for this careless pleasantry.

The cumbrous machine of authority began to move; in May 1556 Knox was cited to appear before the Council; but his friends appeared in large numbers, and the citation was postponed. But the country was becoming unsafe for him, and he had the assurance of safety at Geneva. In July he sent forward his wife and his mother-in-law (for by this time he was married to Marjory Bowes); he joined them as soon as he could slip away. In November, when the day came round to choose office-bearers for the English congregation at Geneva, John Knox and Christopher Goodman, an Englishman, were elected joint ministers. Knox was burned in effigy in his absence.

The Regent's position was one of great anxiety; she said once that since she entered Scotland she had not had one day of repose. In January 1557 she wrote to her brother the Cardinal; she meant nothing but good to her subjects; 'but they do not want justice.' This is a shrewd remark; Scotland was given over to faction-fighting, and therefore exposed to foreign interference. Mary's French friends swaggered as if they were in a conquered country, and grasped at offices which should have gone to good Scotsmen. As for the Protestant lords, they only waited till *their* friends in England had the upper hand.

As joint minister at Geneva, Knox was happily situated. His congregation was small; his colleague was of one mind with him; he had time for study. It was with him a period of literary activity; he wrote his *Appellation* to the Scots nobles, and his *Letter* to the commonalty. These, I should say, are the best of Knox's writings; they are full of genuine patriotism and faithful advice. His reasoning is vitiated throughout by his political theory, which is, in substance, the same as that of Innocent III. At the command of God's messenger (and Knox,

like Innocent, believed that he had a direct and unlimited commission from the Almighty) the civil authority was bound to undertake the ' ordering and reformation ' of religion. In other words, Mary of Guise was to suppress Popery, and pursue ' idolaters ' even to the death. If she declined this duty, she forfeited her claim to obedience ; the congregation of Christ, or any member thereof, was free to attack her. All this pointed to vigorous measures in Scotland ; and Knox may have thought the signal for action had been given when the Protestant nobles invited him to return. When he arrived at Dieppe, towards the end of October, letters were handed to him which he read with resentment and grief ; the nobles had changed their minds ; the time for action was not yet. Knox wrote a series of pungent letters in reply ; he probably preached at Dieppe, and the probability is not lessened by the fact that the Protestants there began to display a somewhat subversive temper.

In Scotland the Protestant preachers were taking a bolder tone, and the Regent found it hard to deal with them. She sent for some of them, and tried to propitiate them, in her broken Scots, but she produced no effect. It was reported that Paul Methven, formerly a baker, had founded a schismatical congregation in Dundee. A party of Protestants forced their way into the Regent's presence, and Chalmers of Gadgirth made a boisterous speech about the idleness of the prelacy.

When Knox's letters arrived, his friends resolved to do something ; on the 3rd December they entered into a ' band ' for mutual protection ; this was the first of the written covenants which mark the successive stages of the Reformation. Their demands were moderate ; they wanted King Edward's Prayer-book of 1552 ; and they agreed to continue the exposition of Scripture in private houses, until the public authority allowed liberty of preaching.

In the same month of December, Mary Stewart attained her fifteenth birthday ; the King of France informed the Estates of Scotland that her marriage with the Dauphin was fixed for the following year. Nine commissioners were appointed to attend, and their expenses were voted.

Early in 1558 Knox was back in Geneva ; he had to put the

Appellation and the *Letter* through the press ; he also had to finish and print the first part of a book to which he had given much labour ; the part published in this year is entitled *The First Blast of the Trumpet against the Monstrous Regiment* (government) *of Women.* For reasons which we do not fully understand, Knox had formed a very low estimate of the female sex. ' The most part of women is wicked ' ; to vest authority in a woman, or even to allow her any measure of personal independence, is to disobey the express commandment of God, and to bring ruin on Church and State. His argument in support of this thesis appears to me entirely worthless ; the author himself thought it unanswerable. His admirers say as little of the book as they can, but it was written in deadly earnest, and it was never withdrawn. The further instalments did not appear ; we have only the *First Blast* and a few preliminary notes of the second.

While Knox was thus undermining her throne, Mary Stewart was looking forward to her wedding ; the proceedings may here be briefly noted. On the 4th April she signed secret deeds under which, in case of her death without issue, the crown of Scotland, and her claim as next in succession to Mary Tudor, would pass to the King of France. It was probably not hard to persuade a girl of fifteen that, in case of her death, it was better to put Scotland at the disposition of her old ally ; the alternative was a fight for the succession between Chatelherault, a weak, inconsistent man, and Lennox, who was now a ' good Englishman '. On the 15th April Mary bound herself to defend the rights and privileges of Scotland. On the 19th was the ' handfasting ' ; and finally on Sunday, the 24th, the marriage was celebrated with unusual splendour.

A few days before this magnificent ceremony a poor priest named Walter Mylne was brought to trial for heresy at St. Andrews. He had picked up some dangerous opinions in Germany as a student, and had been punished or warned by Cardinal Beaton ; also, he was married, and therefore a rebel against the established system. He was arrested at Dysart in a poor woman's house, where he was warming himself at the fire, and teaching her the commandments of God. At his trial

he went into the pulpit and defended himself vigorously ; but his defence only made his case worse ; he was left to the secular arm, and burned in due course. Mylne was the last who suffered for Protestant opinions in Scotland. The total number of victims is usually given as nineteen ; this, of course, is a very small number when compared with the wholesale executions instigated by the bishops of some other Catholic countries.

The Scots commissioners had attended the ceremony in Notre Dame ; they remained some time in France, enjoying the hospitality of the King. Their stay was marked by a strange succession of fatalities. In September, Bishop Reid of Orkney died at Calais. Knox has one of his amusing tales about the Bishop on his death-bed, with his money-boxes close beside him. If Reid had any large sum with him it was, in all probability, the money voted by the Estates, for which he would have to render an account. We know, to be sure, that he guided his own affairs carefully ; but his savings were not for himself ; he was a generous benefactor to his own diocese, and he left a legacy which almost entitles him to rank as the founder of our town's college, now the University of Edinburgh. In November, Cassilis and Rothes died at Dieppe ; in December, Lord Fleming died at Paris. At that period unexpected deaths were always attributed to poison, as they are in the East at this day.

As the winter drew on, it became plain that Mary Tudor was near her end ; she was only forty-two, but her strength was exhausted by toil, anxiety, and disappointment. Guided by her Church, she had put to death about three hundred of her subjects ; and heresy was spreading faster than ever. In the early days of November, the Queen lay dying ; the London mob began to pull down images, and to insult all who wore the religious habit. On the 17th May Mary Tudor died ; her chief adviser, Cardinal Pole, survived her only a few hours. To the dismay of the papal party, Elizabeth came quietly to the throne, and Sir William Cecil was appointed her secretary. In the matter of religion, the new Queen's policy was prudently ambiguous. She and Cecil had both attended Mass in Mary Tudor's time ; a fact of which Mr. Knox did not fail to remind them, when he had the opportunity. She had to keep the peace

with the Catholic powers ; she tried to give them the impression that she would resume the policy of her father, who was Catholic, not Papist. Partly to meet the scruples of King Philip, she ceased to call herself head of the Church of England, and contented herself with the title of supreme governor. At the same time, she knew that the tide of Protestant sentiment was rising; there was, in many quarters, an intense eagerness to destroy every vestige of the old system. Whether she yielded to this feeling or repressed it, her policy in Church matters was her own ; Cecil, left to himself, would have gone further in the Puritan direction ; Elizabeth was the architect of the *via media*, in which the Church of England still remains. In the eyes of all strict Catholics, she was merely the daughter of Anne Boleyn, and Mary Stewart was next in the succession. By the advice of the King of France, Mary asserted her claim to be *de iure* Queen of England, and quartered the English arms with those which she had previously borne.

Elizabeth's accession must have been known in Edinburgh when the Estates met at the end of November. The object of this Parliament was to obtain the crown matrimonial of Scotland for the Dauphin ; this was agreed to, but the crown was never sent. The Protestant party tried to obtain a hearing, but the Regent gave them little satisfaction. They petitioned for liberty to meet ; for baptism in the vulgar tongue (they called it ' the lavacre of spiritual regeneration ') ; for reformation of the lives of the prelates. They wished all matters to be tried by the New Testament, the ancient Fathers, and the ' godly approved laws of Justinian '. There was also a letter to the Estates, asking that the laws against heresy should be suspended, until a General Council should decide all controversies. The bishops, it was argued, should not be judges ; they should appear as accusers before a temporal judge. When they found that Parliament would not be allowed to do anything for them, the petitioners protested, and claimed freedom ' to use themselves in matters of religion and conscience as they must answer to God '.

The eventful year 1559 opens with a warning to the monks and friars ; a paper was posted on the doors of many monas-

teries, intimating that the poor, the maimed, and the blind were about to resume their inheritance. This is one of the vague appeals to socialism, not uncommon in that period ; but the Reformation was not a socialist movement ; it was carried through by nobles and great men who kept the plunder of the old Church for themselves. When the poor lost the easy-going charity of the monks, they sometimes got in exchange a Protestant laird who rackrented them without mercy. Knox complained of this, but he had no power to check the rapacity of his friends.

The Chapter of Aberdeen began the year by attempting some reform of the clergy ; they made provision for regular sermons, and warned those who did not attend Mass. The Bishop (William Gordon, fourth son of the Earl of Huntly) was admonished to put away ' the gentlewoman ' and to keep better company.

The Regent issued proclamations, commanding the observance of Lent, and forbidding irregular administration of the sacraments, under pain of death. On the 1st March the Councils of St. Andrews and Glasgow met at Edinburgh, but little could be expected from a synod presided over by John Hamilton. The usual rules were made as to clerical concubinage, &c. A little book called the *Godly Exhortation*, but popularly known as the ' Twapenny Faith ', received the imprimatur of the Council. Articles of reformation were presented, evidently drawn up by loyal Catholics, but to these the Council answered with a *non possumus*. They could not, for example, institute services in the vernacular ; in all such matters they were bound by the canon law. This was the last council of the old Church.

Easter was always a trying season at this period ; the Catholic ceremonies excited the opposition of the preachers. This year the sermons were vehement, and some disturbances followed. Four preachers (Methven, Harlaw, Christison, Willock) were summoned to appear before the Regent at Stirling on the 10th May. It may be well to note that the preachers were ' put at ', not merely because they preached the evangel, but also because their preaching was followed by destruction of church furniture and molestation of peaceable

Catholics. It was common in Scotland, when a leading man was in trouble with the law, for his friends to assemble in large numbers; they came armed, to make sure that justice was done. The friends of the preachers now began to assemble in large numbers at Dundee; Knox says they were without armour, but he means only that they were not fully equipped; all Scotsmen then carried swords or whingers.

At the opening of the year, Knox had been in Geneva, but in January he had left that city for the last time and set his face toward Scotland. His plan was to pass through England, and to encourage his brethren by the way, but now he learned what price he was to pay for writing the *First Blast*. Elizabeth had seen or at least heard of the book, and she joined the author in one condemnation with his colleague Goodman, who had written a subversive work on the authority of princes; these two names were 'of all the most odious' at the English court. Forbidden to enter England, Knox made his way to Leith; he landed there on the 2nd May, and pressed on at once to Dundee, and then to Perth, now becoming the centre of disturbance. Erskine of Dun had been to Stirling and reported that the Regent was not in a yielding mood. On the 10th May the preachers did not appear; they were outlawed and their sureties were forfeited. Knox also was outlawed. At once a cry of 'treachery' was raised in the Protestant camp. It is not certain that the Regent had promised to discharge or postpone her summons, and the disorderly gathering at Perth gave her a strong reason for enforcing it. But the charge of perfidy, assiduously repeated, has become part of the popular history of Scotland.

On the 11th May Knox preached at Perth, in the church of St. John Baptist, and was vehement against 'idolatry'. His sermon was followed by an orgy of destruction, which lasted two days; three religious houses were utterly wrecked; the rioters even cut down the fruit-trees in the garden. It appears that little or no violence was offered to the monks and friars; the abbot of the Carthusian house was even allowed to carry off what Knox calls an ass-load of gold and silver—meaning probably the communion plate of the chapel.

Writing soon after to a friend, Knox attributes these acts of

savagery to ' the brethren ' ; writing at a later date he says the riots were started by the casual imprudence of a priest ; describes the ' whole multitude ' as taking part in them ; and protests that no honest man was richer for the plunder.

The Protestants kept their hold on Perth ; they informed the Regent of their intention to appeal to the King of France, to the Queen of Scots and her husband, and to all Christian princes. They also addressed a letter to the nobles, and there was a third letter, which we must attribute to Knox : nobody but Knox could have written the opening words, ' To the Generation of Antichrist, the pestilent prelates and their shavelings within Scotland, the Congregation of Christ Jesus within the same sayeth.'

The marching and counter-marching which ensued only made it evident that neither party was strong enough to crush its opponents. In the early days of June, Knox made a hasty tour in East Fife, and his preaching led to some wrecking of churches ; at St. Andrews the magistrates joined in the work of destruction, and the Lord James looked on. The Protestant leaders took the field against the Regent, but the affair of Cupar Muir was again indecisive. For a time it had ' rained men ' in the camp of the Congregation, but their friends were provisioned only for a few days, and their force soon melted away ; by the middle of June they saw that they could not succeed without help from England. Elizabeth knew that it was her interest to ' nourish and entertain the garboil in Scotland ', but she could not move openly in the matter. Only a few months had elapsed since the conclusion of a ' lasting peace ' between the Western powers ; if she interfered in Scotland, she gave the French a valid excuse for siding against her. The Regent also desired peace ; she looked with despondency on the state of Scotland. From Dunbar she wrote to the Pope ; she had been kept in ignorance of the spread of heresy, and she feared the true Church could not be restored without bloodshed. If Paul IV read this letter, it may have deepened his distress ; he lay on his deathbed, sadly complaining that no pontificate had been so unlucky as his own.

The Regent's hope was in France, and it seemed for a moment

as if her prospects were brightening. In the spring of this year Mary Stewart had been ill; 'God take her to Himself so soon as may please Him' was the kindly wish of the English agent in France, Sir John Mason. Philip of Spain bethought himself that his plans would be hampered if a young Queen, French in her sympathies, came to the government of Scotland. If Mary were to die, he wrote, his task would be easier. Such was the genial atmosphere in which this young lady began her political career. But Mary recovered her health and courage, and a sudden turn of events gave her the power she needed. At the end of June her friend Elizabeth of France became the third wife of King Philip. A tournament was held in honour of this marriage, and the King of France, pressing into the lists, received the broken shaft of Montgomery's lance in his eye. He lingered in agony for some days; on the 8th July he died. To the invalid boy who thus became Francis II the crown was only a burden, but Mary, now Queen of France, was 'a great doer', more active in politics than the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici, could have wished. It was now thought certain that the Regent would receive fresh succour from France.

During the month of July the contending factions in Scotland issued their respective manifestoes, without any decisive result. No agreement was possible, for the Protestants were not asking merely for liberty of worship; what they now claimed was the liberty and establishment of their religion. Establishment, as they understood the term, included the right to suppress any religion of which they did not approve. Their only hope was in England, but the English were hampered by treaties and afraid to move. On the 20th July Knox wrote to Elizabeth, sharply reminding her that she had conformed to popery in Mary Tudor's time, demanding permission to visit England, and threatening her with the judgment of God if she neglected the advice of His faithful servant. He wrote at the same time to Cecil, who sent him a civil reply, and referred him to Galatians iii. 28 for an answer to the *First Blast*. At the end of July Knox ventured into England to ask for a force which would enable the Congregation to take Broughty Castle from the Regent. He sailed from Pittenweem; at Holy Island

Sir James Croft met him and took him to Berwick. Knox gave some assurance that the Congregation would meet Elizabeth's views as to the 'Authority'—in other words, they would withdraw the subversive opinions associated with his name and Goodman's; but his friends would not let him stay in Berwick long.

The Regent's French troops gave her a visible advantage; the Protestant lords could not take Leith, and were obliged to come to terms. It was agreed that the main question should be reserved for Parliament; in the meantime the Congregation must abstain from violence, and the people of Edinburgh should be free to choose their own form of religion. When the preachers heard of this convention they refused to be bound by it; they objected to the clause which restrained them from wrecking churches; they objected also to the proposal that Edinburgh should choose between the Mass and the Order of Geneva. Writing to Cecil, Knox admitted that 'the greater part' would allow the Mass. Where 'idolatry' was concerned, he cared just as little for a popular vote as for a royal command. The treaty came to nothing, and the lords, after publishing a garbled version of it, were constrained to leave the town.

In August, Elizabeth moved cautiously to the aid of her confederates. She wrote to the Regent, expressing surprise that her English officers were charged with interfering in Scotland; at the same moment she was sending Sadler to the Border, to make mischief between the French and the Scots. He was to lend money to the Congregation, taking bonds for repayment, but the name of the Queen of England was not to be used.

On the 18th August the unlucky Paul IV breathed his last; when his death was made known, the Roman mob broke out in disorder, and the doors of the papal prisons were thrown open. Among those who escaped was a Scots friar, John Craig, who lived to play a conspicuous part in the politics of his own country. On Christmas Day John de' Medici became Pope, and took the title of Pius IV. He was an intelligent, industrious man, and he earned himself a place in history by bringing the Council of Trent to a close.

In September came another instalment of help from France, and at the same time Pellevé, Bishop of Amiens, and three doctors of divinity arrived, all fully prepared to argue the questions at issue between the Regent and the Protestant divines. The Bishop no doubt did his best to support the authority of the Crown against the rebels ; as George Buchanan expressed it, the Frenchman came to plan the slaughter of Protestants. Leslie, on the other hand, says that the Bishop proclaimed liberty of conscience. Projects of compromise were eagerly discussed in France about this time, and Pellevé may well have skirmished with the proposal to allow some liberty to Protestants in Scotland. Cockburn of Ormiston went to the Border and received 3,000 crowns of English money for the Congregation, but, as he was returning, the young Earl of Bothwell, son of the earl who arrested Wishart, pounced upon him and captured the money. The lords of the Congregation were in a strait, but they were far from being crushed. In the middle of October they held a meeting in Edinburgh, to discuss the expediency of deposing the Regent. Could they, being subjects, depose the person in whom the royal power was lawfully vested ? In those days a question of this nature was referred to theologians, and the preachers attended to give their opinions. Willock held that the nobles, being born counsellors of the realm, could depose Mary of Guise. Knox followed on the same side, but he exhorted his hearers not to withdraw their hearts from their true sovereigns. In Knox's heart neither Francis nor Mary had any place ; but the Congregation had hit on the notion of displacing the Regent by governing in the name of the King and Queen. They might have carried out their plan, if they could have taken Leith, but their attacks were ingloriously beaten off, and the English sent them no help. Knox wrote to Croft, suggesting that Elizabeth might allow 1,000 men to cross the Border ; she could then accuse them of crossing without orders, and proclaim them rebels to her crown ; this is quite in the spirit of Elizabeth's diplomacy.

Maitland the younger of Lethington had been with the Regent in Leith as her secretary ; but his sympathies were with the English party, and he laboured to promote a closer union

between the two kingdoms. He now threw in his lot with the Congregation. He had no belief in the Mass; he never was a fervent professor of the Evangel, as understood by Mr. Knox. The Duke of Chatelherault, 'the second person in the realm,' was veering in the same direction. Both in England and in Scotland, statesmen had been discussing a projected marriage between Arran, the Duke's eldest son, and Elizabeth. To place the crown of Great Britain on the head of a Hamilton, the Duke was likely to support the Protestant interest.

In every reforming party there is an inevitable schism, sooner or later, between the moderates and the extreme men; a division of this kind was already apparent in the ranks of the Congregation. In January Mr. Knox told a friend that he was laid aside from public affairs 'because among ourselves I am judged too extreme'. His retirement was merely nominal; he was still active in opposing all compromise in religion.

A fleet, commanded by the Regent's brother, d'Elbœuf, was on its way to Scotland, and an English fleet was keeping the French in sight. A terrible storm arose; the English found shelter in their own harbours, but the French were caught in the open sea; d'Elbœuf put back to Dieppe; most of his ships were lost. Elizabeth heard that 1,000 Frenchmen were drowned, and her policy in Scotland became more decided. By the end of February she had concluded an agreement with the Duke of Chatelherault and the leaders of the Congregation. In the first draft of this convention there was a reference to religion, but this passage was struck out. Elizabeth knew her own position too well to make common cause with men who took their principles from Geneva.

In the middle of March the French court was at Amboise beside the Loire, and small parties of Huguenots were approaching the castle there from various quarters; they hoped to kill or capture the Duke of Guise and his brother, the Cardinal of Lorraine. Calvin had warned them against all such enterprises, but their leader, La Renaudie, declared that the Spirit did not dwell only at Geneva. His followers were cut down or made prisoners, and when the rising was over there were wholesale executions at Amboise. The Queen of Scots was there with the

other ladies ; Protestant writers describe her as gloating over the deaths of the heretics, but this is an imaginative statement ; Mary had no distinctive part of her own in the tragedy of Amboise.

Before the end of March, an English army invaded Scotland ; the commander, Lord Grey de Wilton, was a hardy veteran who had led the decisive charge at Pinkie. The castle at Edinburgh was held by Lord Erskine, afterwards the Regent Mar, a good Scotsman who loved neither English nor French. His wife, an excellent lady, is described by Knox as a ' very Jezebel ', probably because she prevented her husband from joining the extreme Protestants. When Grey crossed the Border, Erskine allowed the Regent to seek safety in the castle. Mary of Guise was a dying woman ; those who wish to have the unpleasant details of her illness may be referred to the graphic pages of Mr. Knox. In the early days of June she lay on her deathbed ; Willock was hovering near to engage her in an argument about the Mass, but the poor lady was past argument. She said she had no hope save in the merits of her Redeemer, and so she died. The preachers would not allow her body to be buried with a Catholic service ; it was placed in a lead coffin, and after months of wandering it found a resting-place in the Convent at Rheims, where Renée of Guise was abbess.

Preparations were already made for a conference at Edinburgh, to put an end to the troubles caused by the interference of France and England. Cecil himself, rather against his will, and his colleague Dr. Wotton represented Elizabeth ; the French negotiators were the Sieur de Randan and Monluc, Bishop of Valence. ' More by brag than by eloquence,' Cecil obtained a treaty very favourable to England. It was in fact so favourable that the Queen of Scots was not likely to ratify it ; but the Protestant leaders hoped that means might be found to persuade or compel Mary to remain in France. Cecil went home, well pleased with his success ; Elizabeth received him coldly, and refused to pay the expenses of his journey. She was making a foolish display of her affection for Lord Robert Dudley (a younger son of Knox's old patron Northumberland) and Cecil's advice was at a discount.

The Estates of Scotland met in July, and in August they proceeded to their main business. The Protestant party was visibly the stronger; the nobles had solid reasons for supporting it; the lesser barons and burgesses were eager for reform. Archbishop Hamilton and some of the bishops were present, but their resistance was feeble; they relied on the Queen to refuse her assent to the Acts of this convention. A petition was presented, setting forth that among the Roman clergy there was not one lawful minister: they were *all* thieves, murderers, adulterers, and rebels. After this outburst of Christian feeling the petitioners asked that the Estates should express their adherence to the true religion in an authoritative form. Some barons and ministers were directed to prepare the necessary document; on the 17th August the Confession of Faith was read and accepted. The Archbishop said that the Confession was a thing he was 'not accustomed with'; he did not condemn it and would not accept it. On the 18th he wrote to James Beaton at Paris, warning him that the time was coming when no man could have life in Scotland without believing the new articles, 'which I will not'.

The Confession is a summary, in homely but impressive Scots, of the Confessions adopted by those Churches in which the influence of Calvin prevailed. It opens with an offer to prove or withdraw any statement which may be found contrary to the Word of God: how much or how little this means we shall see when we come to the case of Ninian Winzet. The cardinal virtues are plainly set forth; the true Church and her sacraments are clearly described. The Estates 'utterly damn' the vanity of those who say that the sacraments are only bare and naked signs; on this point Scotland ranged herself with Calvin and against what is known as the Zwinglian position.

The Confession was followed up by Acts abolishing the papal jurisdiction, repealing all laws which allowed any worship contrary to the Confession and the Word of God, and imposing penalties on all who said or heard Mass; for the first offence confiscation of goods and corporal punishment; for the second, banishment; for the third, death. Some Protestant writers

contend that we need not attribute this last Act to the Reformers, but Mr. Knox would not have thanked them for this half-hearted apology.

The Queen refused her assent, as the Archbishop expected ; but the validity of an Act depends on the force behind it ; the Protestants maintained their position ; by a great effort the nation shook itself free from the authority of the Pope, and from the Roman system of belief and worship. The Word of God, as interpreted by Calvin, became the standard to which all opinions and institutions must be conformed.

The Reformers were devoted believers in the verbal inspiration of the Bible, and they brought with them out of Rome the scholastic habit of relying on proof-texts. Following in the track of the great schoolmen and canon lawyers they used the Bible, and especially the Old Testament, as a manual of persecution. Their minds were full of the primitive but erroneous belief that God acknowledges His people by giving them victory and political power. We must also remember that in 1560 natural science was still in its infancy. Protestant communities retained, in all its crudity, the Catholic belief in witchcraft and demoniac possession ; they misread the events of their own time, because they were always looking for special judgments, forgetting that the sun rises on the evil and the good, the rain falls on the just and the unjust. Not content with separating from Rome, they insulted and derided the old Church and all her members. From that day to the present time, our Protestant Churches have revelled in censorious reflections on their opponents, and they have insisted unduly on their own imperfect attainments.

The Confession, as we have seen, was the Confession of the Estates ; there was as yet no organized Protestant Church. Meetings were held to distribute the small band of preachers ; Knox became minister of Edinburgh ; for a time he was sole minister in a town of 20,000 inhabitants, and his parochial duties were combined with a good deal of secretarial work. Paul Methven, a mild and persuasive preacher, went to Jedburgh ; the subversive Goodman found a home at St. Andrews.

Elizabeth may have given Cecil some reason to complain,

but she was quite aware of the advantage he gained her by the treaty of Edinburgh ; to obtain the ratification of that agreement from the King and Queen of Scots became an object of her policy. Throckmorton, her agent in France, went from castle to castle ; he was met with dilatory arguments and civil excuses. On the 15th November he was admitted to a formal audience, but without result. A few days later the young King was taken ill ; Mary proved herself a devoted nurse, but the poor lad grew daily worse ; on the 5th December he died. Knox thought this ' a wonderful and most joyful deliverance ' ; Calvin reproved those who exulted on such an occasion ; he added demurely that ' nothing could be more timely '. It is strange that a man of Calvin's intellect should have taken comfort in the fact that the Crown of France had passed from Francis II to Charles IX. The new King of France was only ten years old ; a substantial share of power fell naturally to the Queen-Mother, Catherine de' Medici. This enigmatic lady was considered ' rather a Protestant than otherwise ' ; she had long been in favour of some compromise which would stop the wars of religion ; she joined in requesting the Pope to concede all the more important reforms demanded by the Huguenots.

Mary and her most formidable subject were passing through the same heavy trial ; the winter which carried off King Francis witnessed also the death of Marjorie Knox : ' the most delightful of wives ' Calvin called her, and he may have known her fairly well during her stay at Geneva. Absorbed in public work, the Reformer was left with two little boys to care for, but Mrs. Bowes took her daughter's place and guided the house, so far at least as Knox's principles would permit.

While Mary sat in darkened rooms, completing her prescribed period of strict mourning, her Protestant subjects were labouring to organize the reformed Church of Scotland. The old Church was in ruins, and they now had to provide religious ordinances for the whole of Scotland. With the approval of the Privy Council they had begun to appoint superintendents, whose duty it was to plant churches and to settle ministers : where no minister could be had, a reader was employed to undertake

the ordinary services, the order followed being that of Knox's Genevan book. There is a certain resemblance between the duties of a superintendent and those of a bishop, but no attempt was made to link on the new officers to the historic episcopate. Erskine of Dun, one of the first appointed, was and remained a layman.

On the 20th December a meeting was held in the chapel of St. Mary Magdalen in the Cowgate of Edinburgh ; forty-two persons were present, of whom six were ministers. It is not known by whom this meeting was summoned or how its members were chosen, but from the outset the Assembly spoke as a body having authority, claiming legislative and judicial power in Church matters, formulating the demand of the Church upon the State. This first Assembly requested that none might be magistrates except professors of the evangel, and that sharp punishment should be inflicted on all who caused Mass to be said or were present thereat.

In January the Estates met in Convention at Edinburgh : some Protestant divines attended to give their advice, and a few Catholic doctors from Aberdeen appeared in defence of the old system. There was an argument about the Mass ; Knox as usual represents the Catholics as giving away their own case ; Leslie, on the other hand, thought his party had the best of the controversy.

Early in the previous year the Council had directed the preparation of a book of polity for the reformed Church ; the work was entrusted to six Johns—Knox, Winram, Spottiswood, Douglas, Willock, and Row. The completed book (we know it as the First Book of Discipline) was now laid before the Convention. It was not formally sanctioned ; a good many noblemen signed it on the understanding that those prelates who joined the Congregation should retain their revenues for life, subject to the burden of providing for the reformed ministry. This was only a temporary expedient ; for some time nothing was done to secure an adequate provision for the ministry of the new Church. The Reformers drew their plan of endowment with wisdom and moderation, and they indicated clearly what might be done for education, from the

parish schools to the Universities ; but Lethington told them, truly enough, that their plan was only a ' devout imagination '. Nobles and lairds were determined to keep the spoils of the old Church for themselves ; they certainly did their best to protect the ministers against the temptations of excessive wealth. Knox was bitterly sarcastic, but the abuses of which he complained were the direct result of his own political action. He was eager to provide for gospel preaching, but first he had to pull down the ' synagogue of Satan ' ; he needed political power to enforce the penalties recently enacted against the Mass. He could only have power by standing in with the Protestant nobles, and he might have known that they would make him pay for their support.

As organized under the First Book, the Church of Scotland was essentially Presbyterian ; our Reformers took up the problem of Church government just where Calvin left it. It is worth noting that Calvin was not eager to declare a final break with the historic episcopate ; if the bishops would ' obey Christ ', he was ready to pronounce an anathema on those who did not obey them. But the bishops of the Roman Church, with a few exceptions, adhered to the old system, and Calvin proceeded to constitute the model Church of Geneva on another basis. His view was, that the Church must have jurisdiction, i. e. power to declare the law with coercive effect ; he was precise and absolute in his definition of the authority which belongs to the Church, and to the State as advised and guided by the Church. If we may use the term invented or borrowed by Josephus to describe the Jewish polity, we may say that Calvin attempted to found a theocracy. The term is to some extent misleading, because it suggests that God Himself is the Author of institutions which are in fact framed by men. All human lawgivers are fallible ; they must be placed under limitations ; there must be a compromise between authority and liberty. The Reformation led on to the wars of religion, because the leading men on both sides were convinced that compromise was sinful. Knox, founding himself on Old Testament texts, would have compelled every papist to choose between death, banishment, and (worse than either) forced

conformity to Protestant rules. At the same moment, Lainez the Jesuit, founding himself on the same texts, was warning the King of France that no terms must be made with the Huguenots.

Laying possibly an undue stress on 1 Timothy v. 17, Calvin divided the eldership of his model Church into two sharply distinguished orders—the ministers (pastors and doctors) who had the exclusive right to preach, to administer the sacraments, and to ordain ; and the lay elders, who assisted in government. He wished the lay elders to be elected by the congregation ; the republic of Geneva preferred election by and from the municipal council of the city. In Scotland the more democratic rule was followed from the first, and in the early days of the reformed Church the elders chosen had to be annually re-elected. Calvin's constitution was framed for a small homogeneous community ; it remained to be seen how the Presbyterian system would work when applied to a nation, divided and agitated by conflicting opinions.

Mary was beginning to prepare for her return to Scotland ; in February she was at Fontainebleau, and there she received the young Earl of Bedford, who brought Elizabeth's message of condolence. He and Throckmorton plied her with arguments about the treaty of Edinburgh ; her constant answer was, that she must advise with her Scots nobles before giving her assent. Throckmorton was greatly pleased with the ' modesty and discretion ' of the Queen of Scots. After spending Easter with her aunt Renée at Rheims, Mary left for Nancy. At Vitry on the 14th April she granted an interview to John Leslie, an accomplished clergyman from Aberdeen, who brought her a message from her Catholic subjects. Huntly and his friends were arming ; if the Queen would land in the north, they would place her at the head of a considerable army. Mary had already thought out for herself a different policy. She was a convinced though not a very strict Catholic ; she hoped to see something done towards restoring the old Church. This feeling was natural and right, for who would care to see a girl of eighteen eager to turn against the Church of her baptism and early training ? But Mary had learned from her mother that the Protestants in Scotland were too strong to be sup-

pressed without much bloodshed. At the French court the party of compromise was in the ascendant; Catherine de' Medici had just promoted Michel de l'Hôpital, the most powerful advocate of that party, to be Chancellor of France. Mary believed that she could disarm the hostility of her Protestant subjects by giving them liberty of worship: this was the offer she meant to make them. Her plan was foredoomed to failure, for Knox and his friends were fighting, not for liberty, but for power; they would accept nothing short of the total suppression of the religion which they disapproved. But Mary was still confident of success, and Leslie took home a discouraging message to the Catholics of the north.

Next day, as Mary rode by St. Dizier, she was overtaken by her brother the Lord James; with him she discussed the state of affairs in Scotland, and the discussion seems to have been friendly. As a leader of his party, James was committed to the English interest; he could not support his sister if she challenged Elizabeth's title, but he hoped Elizabeth would solve the difficulty by naming the Queen of Scots as her successor. Throckmorton feared that the Guises would tempt the Lord James with the offer of a cardinal's hat, but he soon came to understand that the Scots Protestant leader could be trusted.

In May the Estates met in Edinburgh, and the Assembly also met again; during this critical period there were two Assemblies in each year. A deputation of ministers went to the Council to ask that the laws against the Mass might be enforced. Modern writers take pride in the almost bloodless record of the Scottish Reformation, but the ministers contributed little to this satisfactory state of things; they lost no opportunity of calling for sharp execution of penal laws. We have to remember that Knox, though he had immense influence, was not in power, as Beaton, for example, had been; the affairs of Scotland were now in the hands of the nobles, who thought first of their own interest, and kept the sword in their own hands.

In June the Queen of Scots was at Paris, and on the 18th she had an important conversation with Throckmorton; once

more she made her own position perfectly clear. She would not accept the treaty of Edinburgh without further advice, but she hoped to live in concord with her sister of England ; she knew that many of her own subjects were contrary to her in religion ; she would not constrain them and hoped Elizabeth would not help them to constrain her. She was ' young and not well learned ', but she had heard Church matters debated by her uncle the Cardinal, and had heard him say that a reformation was necessary. When Elizabeth read Throckmorton's report, she indited a high and mighty letter to the Council in Scotland, and the Council sent her a submissive reply. The Queen of England stood out for her treaty ; if Mary would not ratify, she could not expect to have a safe-conduct for her journey to Scotland. On the 14th August Mary sailed from Calais ; she was accompanied by three of her Guise uncles, and by other friends ; Brantôme the essayist and the poet Chastelard were of the number. The safe-conduct had not arrived, and nobody knew what might happen ; but the English ships did not attack, and as Mary entered the Frith of Forth a friendly fog came down, cutting off any possible pursuit. Leslie thought the fog was an interposition of divine providence in Mary's favour ; to Mr. Knox's mind it portended the ' darkness, dolour, and all impiety ' which entered Scotland with a popish queen. On taking up her residence at Holyrood, Mary indicated that her chief object was to conciliate the Protestant party. Lethington continued to be her secretary, and her brother became her chief adviser. The Lord James was not unworthy of the place to which his sister advanced him. He was now a man of thirty, able and ambitious ; an intelligent Protestant, not yet committed to the extreme party. He was free from the vices which brought discredit on the religious professions of men like Morton. Where property or power was in question, the Lord James did what his interest required ; he conformed to the moral standard of his period and his class.

On Sunday the 24th the Queen attended Mass ; some of the Protestants who hung about the court declared that the idolatrous priest should die the death. But behold ! the Lord James stood on guard before the chapel door ; after service

his brothers, Lord Robert and Lord John, saw the priest safe home. Knox groaned to hear that men who had sat at the Lord's table were protecting a Catholic service. Just at first the Reformer had dissuaded his friends from violence; he soon became convinced that he had 'done most wickedly' in restraining the fervency of the brethren.

On Monday, the 25th May, Mary issued a proclamation defining her religious policy. Her subjects were forbidden, on pain of death, to make alterations in the order 'publict and universally standing' at her arrival. It would be easy to raise an argument on the meaning of this expression, but the substance is plain enough. Mary promised not to withdraw the liberties enjoyed by the Protestants throughout a considerable part of Scotland. She also forbade her subjects to molest her servants; against this part of the proclamation poor Arran entered what Knox calls a stout and godly protestation. If the Queen's servants said or heard Mass, he claimed to be as free to deal with them as if they had committed murder.

Even in France, Mary had heard of Knox as a dangerous man; she now resolved to come to an understanding with the leader of the extreme Protestants. On Tuesday the 26th Knox went to Holyrood, and the Lord James brought him into the royal presence. Mary at once attacked him about his unlucky book; Knox complacently assured her that the book was unanswerable; but, he said, learned men were allowed to have their own opinions; if the Queen was accepted, and if she kept her hands from the blood of the saints, he was as content to live under her 'as Paul under Nero'. The Queen said she must defend the Church of Rome, which she believed to be the true Church; Knox did not argue the point, but told her that her own Church was a 'horrible harlot'. Mary tried to ascertain whether he was teaching her people the lawfulness of resisting princes; he did not deny that princes have paternal authority, but pointed out that when a father is mad his children may bind him and take away his sword. When he compared himself to St. Paul, Knox might perhaps have remembered that the apostle was 'all things to all men' that he might win some. Anything less likely to win an intelligent Catholic than

his address to Mary it would be hard to imagine. On leaving her presence he was ready with his final judgement on the Queen—'a proud mind, a crafty wit, and a heart indurate against God and His truth'.

On the following Sunday he preached as usual about idolatry, and declared that one Mass was more fearful to him than ten thousand armed enemies. Knox, of course, believed that the Mass was idolatry; his view was that idolatry, if permitted and practised in any part of Scotland, would bring down plagues on the whole country. The same day the magistrates of Edinburgh entertained the Queen at a banquet, and on the following Tuesday she entered her capital in state. A Bible and Psalm-book were presented to her; Knox says she frowned at the Bible, but this is probably a bit of picturesque reporting; Mary was too clever to insult the people whom she was most anxious to please. Some of the godly wished to burn the effigy of a priest in his sacramental dress; Huntly was able to stop this performance, but Korah, Dathan, and Abiram were burned in good style at the Salt Tron.

While the good town was rejoicing, Lethington was preparing to ride to England. He was to open the question of Mary's right to succeed Elizabeth, and he was sure to hear some discussion as to Mary's marriage. Her own dream was that she might marry Don Carlos; like all statesmen at that time, she overrated the power of Spain. To marry Philip's heir would enable her to withstand England and the English party in Scotland.

Having named her new councillors and started her government, Mary left Holyrood for a short progress through her kingdom. At Stirling the curtains of her bed caught fire; this, according to Mr. Knox, was another judgment on idolatry. By the end of September the Queen was back in Edinburgh; the magistrates took the opportunity to reissue a proclamation they had framed, requiring 'monks, friars, priests, nuns, adulterers, fornicators, and all sic filthy persons' to leave the town. This was more than Mary could bear; she sent a macer to intimate that the town must choose a new provost and bailies, and this was done, though the persons suggested by

the Queen were not chosen. She issued a proclamation of her own, declaring that the town was open to all her lieges; Mr. Knox regarded this as an invitation to 'all evil doers' to come in under the Queen's wings. He watched with deepening disgust the partial success of the Queen's conciliatory policy.

On the 1st November (All Saints) there was high Mass at Holyrood; one of the priests was beaten, and a meeting was held at the house of Makgill, the clerk register, to discuss the question whether subjects may lawfully suppress the idolatry of their princes.

Randolph, the English agent at Holyrood, was the channel through which gossip about the Protestant leaders was transmitted to Cecil. Writing in December, he reported that Knox was too hard on the Queen; the preacher spoke of her 'as if he were of God's privy council'; he was certain she would never come to God. No Christian minister has a right to say this of anybody.

Brought up abroad, Mary had begun to introduce the dances and other amusements to which she was accustomed; she even spoke of teaching her subjects to appreciate the *joyeuseté* of her beloved France. It may be that she was sometimes imprudent; if it be true that she put on male attire to see what the streets were like after dark, we must regret that she so far forgot her dignity. Knox regarded the court as a school of profligacy; but we must remember that accusations of immorality were at that time the common weapons of party politicians. The Reformer himself was accused of the vilest offences, and Catholic writers think the evidence against him good enough to be produced in footnotes. If we disregard that evidence, as I think we may, we should also disregard the tales which Knox has recorded against the Queen and her ladies.

In December the Council began to cope with the question of making some provision for the ministers; the Assembly was about to meet, and the question was urgent; but an unhappy incident led to further trouble between the Puritans and the court. The Queen's uncle d'Elbœuf went out with Bothwell and others on some nocturnal expedition; he and his companions broke into the house of an Edinburgh burgess,

in the hope of obtaining an interview with one Alison Craik, supposed to be the mistress of the godly Arran. When the Assembly met, the fathers and brethren set to work on a petition professing ' unfeigned love ' for the Queen, promising obedience in all things lawful, and demanding justice on the offenders. So far as we can see, they had no excuse for interfering, more especially as the case was one which threw an unfavourable light on the morals of their own party.

The Queen's councillors did not attend at the Assembly, but they sat to receive a deputation. Ministers and laymen came to ask for the recognition of the Book of Discipline. Lethington met them with the previous question, whether they met with the Queen's permission ? Knox was indignant ; if they required permission to meet, they might be told that they required permission to preach. ' Take from us the freedom of assemblies, and take from us the Evangel.' There was more in Lethington's question than the Reformer would allow ; the Queen and her Council were responsible for peace and order ; their task was not rendered easier by an Assembly, meeting twice in the year, and dictating to Government in the name of God. As for the Book, the Secretary wished to know how many of them would be bound by it : would the Duke ? Lord Ochiltree, a rough westland man, said that if the Duke refused he might be ' scrapped out ' of their number and company, but Knox knew well enough that this was no answer. ' Stand content,' said Lethington, ' the Book will not be obtained.'

The scheme for endowing the ministry took the form of an arrangement by which two-thirds of the old benefices went to the existing titular incumbents, mostly laymen ; the remaining third was to provide for the ministers, and any surplus was to go to the Queen. Lethington said the Queen would not have a pair of new shoes out of the scheme. The details were worked out by Wishart of Pitarrow, the comptroller ; the Kirk-men said that the laird of Pitarrow was a good man, but the devil fly away with the comptroller. According to Mr. Knox, two-thirds were given freely to the devil, and the third divided between God and the devil.

For the success of her policy of compromise Mary still relied on her brother. If the Lord James was to take the lead in politics, he needed money to make himself a party, and lands from which he could summon tenants to his standard. By this time the Lord James was affianced to Agnes Keith, daughter of the Earl Marischal: they were married on the 8th February, and the splendour of the wedding feast gave some offence to the godly. For a short time the bridegroom was known as Earl of Mar, but that title was claimed by the respectable Erskine. The Earldom of Moray was reserved for the Protestant leader, but Huntly still claimed to be Earl of Moray, and the 'goodman of the North' would not yield without a struggle.

The same month of February witnessed the opening of a significant episode in the history of our Reformation. Ninian Winzet, priest and schoolmaster, was Provost of the collegiate church at Linlithgow. He was a reforming Catholic, faithful and even stern in reminding prelates and nobles of their duty; but his studies had not prepared him to welcome the new teaching. He refused to accept the Confession, and was at once deprived of his work and banished from his 'kindly town'; he came to Edinburgh, and began to use his pen in defence of the truth as he understood it. First appeared his *Tractate*, in which the points of the controversy were handled at some length. This was followed up by *Fourscore and Three Questions* addressed to John Knox, and by a dropping fire of pamphlets. Winzet was a formidable critic, all the more formidable because his language was moderate and reasonable. When we remark on the violence of Knox, we are usually told that the Reformer was much in earnest, and that he lived in a plainspoken age. Winzet was contemporary with Knox; he was much in earnest, and he was smarting under a sense of injustice, but he wrote little or nothing unworthy of his position as a Christian minister. Considering how eager the Reformers were to argue, their treatment of this worthy man is hard to justify. Knox defended himself from the pulpit, and announced that his commission was 'extraordinary' like that of John the Baptist; but some years elapsed before Winzet

was answered, and the answer when it came was not conclusive. A great part of Winzet's argument was in fact unanswerable. The Reformers were proceeding on the assumption that all the rules of a modern Church may be proved by the letter of Scripture. Winzet had no difficulty in showing that they retained many rules of the Catholic Church for which no such authority can be found: there is, for example, no explicit warrant in the New Testament for the baptism of infants, or for the strict observance of the Lord's Day. He charged them also with rejecting rules which the old Church found, or believed she found, in the Word of God; confirmation, for example, is an ordinance which aims at perpetuating the practice of the apostles as described in Acts viii. To these arguments the Reformers made no adequate reply; it was hardly necessary to argue with a man whom they could, and did, drive out of the country.

The incident of Alison Craik had an interesting sequel; Bothwell and Arran were at feud, and Mr. Knox was called in to act as peacemaker. Of Bothwell's religious opinions, if he had any, little is known, but he was an ambitious man, and he could see that the Protestants had the upper hand in a great part of Scotland. He obtained an introduction to Knox and was well received; the Reformer took pleasure in reminding the Earl of the old feudal tie between Knoxes and Hepburns. By his exertions the two young men were reconciled, and attended sermon together. A few days later, Arran came to Knox with an alarming story; Bothwell was trying to engage him in a plot for killing the Lord James and carrying off the Queen. It is not unlikely that Bothwell may have talked of some such enterprise; but the excitement under which Arran laboured soon developed into insanity; he was placed under restraint, and his 'stout and godly' proceedings were of no further benefit to his party.

The great Council at Trent had resumed its labours; the Eucharist was under discussion, and it was known that France and Germany would demand the communion cup for the laity. Scotland was not represented at the Council, and Mary's friends on the Continent were anxious to remind her of her

duty in this matter. They chose as their envoy a pious Jesuit, Nicholas of Gouda, a person 'altogether spiritual' but not lacking in diplomatic ability. In June the nuncio sailed for Scotland; he was accompanied by Edmund Hay, a young Scottish priest. The ecclesiastics of the party were disguised as merchants, but they did not escape the suspicion of some who sailed with them; when they landed at Leith, Hay took his venerable friend to his own home at Megginch, and kept him there until the Assembly should be over.

It was a somewhat critical Assembly, for the ministers were bent on presenting a supplication to the Queen, demanding the suppression of her private Mass. She was not to make religion an excuse; her religion, as the ministers wished to assure her, was 'nothing but abomination and vanity'. They added some requests of a general nature; adultery and blasphemy should be punished with death, and some provision should be made for the ministry and the poor. Lethington was sincerely alarmed; he brought his persuasive power to bear on the lay members of the house, and drafted another petition, framed in accordance with the ordinary rules of courtesy. Knox preferred the supplication, but the lords were with Lethington, and their opinion prevailed.

When the Assembly was over, a small escort of Hays brought the nuncio to Edinburgh, and found him a lodging near the palace. On a July day, when the Lord James had gone to sermon, Nicholas was brought to Holyrood for an interview with the Queen. He addressed her in Latin, and Edmund Hay was called in to assist the Queen in making her reply. The nuncio was accredited to the Scottish bishops, but from them he received little encouragement. Henry Sinclair, Bishop of Ross and afterwards President of the Court of Session, would receive no papal envoy; he said his house would be destroyed within twenty-four hours if he did. Crichton, Bishop of Dunkeld, was more compliant, but he insisted that Nicholas should come disguised as a banker's clerk; nothing but money was to be discussed while the servants were in the room. After a few weeks of this anxious life, the nuncio took ship and returned to his own country. With him went the unlucky

Winzet. He had brought his series of pamphlets to a close with his *Last Blast of the Trumpet* against Mr. Knox; the Edinburgh magistrates had refuted him by breaking into the house where his works were printed, and seizing all the copies they could find. One is glad to know that Winzet found friends in his exile; Catholic Universities employed and promoted him, and he died Abbot of St. James's at Ratisbon.

Nicholas and his friends escaped alive about the beginning of September; a few weeks earlier the Queen had passed to the north, to try conclusions with Huntly. The plan of her campaign was approved by her brother and Lethington, both of whom accompanied her; her decisive success was won at the skirmish or battle of Corrichie; where old Huntly, stricken by mortal illness, fell from his horse and died before the fighting began. His son, John Gordon, was cruelly put to death after the battle, and Moray (we may call him Moray now that his rival was dead) compelled his sister to be present at the execution. The Gordons would have it that they were marching to free Mary from the tyranny of her brother; but this was not Mary's own view of the situation. She clung to Moray as the chief agent of her policy, and she deliberately helped him to ruin her most powerful Catholic subject.

On her way south, at Montrose, Mary met her poetic friend Chastelard, who was paying his second visit to Scotland. Chastelard was a Huguenot, and it was rumoured that a great lady of that party had incited him to compromise the reputation of the Catholic Queen of Scots. In any case the poet was ready to pour out amorous verse after the fashion of the time, and to commit follies in proof of his passion.

While Mary was in the north, Knox was in Galloway and Kyle, where he comforted the hearts of his brethren, and drew up a new 'bond' for them to sign. Towards the end of September he went to Maybole, to engage in a set argument about the Mass; his antagonist was Quintin Kennedy, Abbot of Crossraguel, a good priest who was labouring to obtain a hearing for the old faith. Neither disputant added anything of value to the controversy; they spent some time in arguing about Melchizedek, King of Salem, and the bread and wine

which that priestly ruler offered to Abraham. After three days of argument the town of Maybole intimated that provisions were running short, and the conference came to an end.

In Edinburgh the parties maintained their usual attitude; Lethington and the Queen prevented actual hostilities. The Duke of Chatelherault was in town, and efforts were made to draw him into the Protestant and English party. On a Sunday evening in November Mr. Knox gave a supper party; his guests were the Duke and Mr. Randolph, the English agent. Pressed by his genial host, the Duke promised to be a professor of Christ's word; to be a good subject (so far as in duty and conscience he was bound); and to promote friendship with England.

Knox continued to testify against the gaieties of the court, and in the Protestant mind these pastimes were connected with the miserable civil strife in France. In March of the current year the Duke of Guise and his men had entered the little town of Vassy while the Huguenots were assembled for worship. The soldiers tried to stop the service; the Huguenots resisted; the Duke, who was perhaps trying to restore order, was struck by a stone. On seeing their leader wounded, the soldiers threw off all control, and some sixty Huguenots were killed. We may be sure that Protestant comments on the incident would be sent to the brethren in Scotland; when Mary gave a dance at Holyrood, Knox and his friends thought she was dancing for joy because God's people were being slaughtered. In December Knox became so emphatic that the Queen sent for him again. From his account of the interview we gather that she might as well have left him alone. He would not condemn dancing in general terms, but referred to the wickedness of dancing because God's people were slain. It is quite possible that Mary did not understand him; the incident at Vassy was not recent, and she never accepted any responsibility for what her uncles were doing.

When the Assembly met in December, the most difficult case for consideration was that of Paul Methven, now minister of Jedburgh. The servant in his house had borne a child, of which he was alleged to be the father. He offered to clear

himself on oath, but his accusers were prepared to call witnesses, and Knox was commissioned to hold an inquiry. The charge was proved, and Methven had to take refuge in England. He returned after a time and applied for reinstatement in the ministry, but the forms of penance imposed by the brethren were so humiliating that he could not go through the ordeal, and again retired to England.

Mary still cherished the hope of marrying a Catholic prince, and Lethington was to visit England and France, in order to discuss this important question ; he had his instructions from the Council in February. Soon after his departure came the melancholy end of the follies of M. Chastelard. He made two attempts to conceal himself in the Queen's bedroom ; on the second occasion she wished her servants to kill him, but he was reserved for a formal trial, and on the 22nd February he was executed at St. Andrews. The facts of the case do not indicate any guilty understanding between Chastelard and the Queen ; Knox's version of the story was probably derived from Moray, and when Moray was friendly with Knox, we may infer that he was plotting against the Queen. The hostility of the preachers never relaxed ; about this time Randolph reports them as praying daily that God would either turn the Queen's heart or grant her a short life.

This February brought Mary the news of a bereavement which cost her and her ladies many tears. Her uncle the Duke of Guise gained a victory over his Protestant enemies at Dreux, but after the battle he was shot and fatally wounded by a Protestant youth named Poltrot. The murderer was seized and hurried into the presence of his victim. ' See now ', said the Duke, ' the difference between your religion and mine. Yours has induced you to kill me, and mine commands me to forgive you.' So he died, and the Counter-Reformation lost a brilliant and popular leader.

The approach of Easter was always a critical season in the Scotch Christian year ; in the west country the Catholics, still numerous, were meeting for worship on the hillside, like the Convenanters of a later age. The Protestants declared that idolaters should die the death. Mary, who was at Lochleven,

sent for Mr. Knox, in the hope that he might help her to keep the peace. Knox boldly justified the action of his friends in Kyle; he paraded once more his list of Old Testament homicides—Phinehas killing Zimri and the Midianite woman; Samuel hewing Agag in pieces; Elijah destroying the priests of Baal. After two hours of this, the Queen broke off and went to supper, but next day she was out hawking, and appointed the Reformer to meet her on the hill. They held a long and not unfriendly conference, Mary trying to obtain some information about Ruthven, whom she suspected of dealing in magic; Lethington, of whom Knox would say nothing; Gordon, the titular Archbishop of Athens, who was seeking office in the reformed kirk. With her usual skill, she endeavoured to propitiate the preacher by asking his aid in a difficulty. Her sister, the Countess of Argyle, was neglected by the Earl; husband and wife were living apart; would Mr. Knox remind the Earl of his duty? Knox promised, and kept his word; he wrote Argyle a letter which ought to be read by those who wish to understand Knox's conception of ministerial duty. Argyle was angry, not without reason, but he did not venture to quarrel with the minister of Edinburgh.

Knox had assured Mary that there was an Act of Parliament against the Mass; the Acts of 1560, though not regularly passed, were regarded by one party as forming part of the law of the land. Mary, bent on conciliating the dominant party, now began to persecute the members of her own Church. In May about fifty Catholics were brought to trial; some were put in prison, and some found security not to offend again.

Parliament met in May, and the Acts passed show that the Protestant party was in power. In particular, an Act was passed against the horrid crime of witchcraft. We may console ourselves with the reflection that in this matter Scotland was not worse than some other Christian countries; but the cruelties inflicted under this Reformation statute make up a very bad chapter of our national history.

Knox was a discontented spectator of these proceedings; he thought the Queen's speech 'a painted oration', and the 'targets' or tassels which adorned her robe moved him to

melancholy reflections on the 'stinking pride of women'. Before the Estates rose he dealt publicly with the question of the Queen's marriage. He warned the nobles that if they allowed an infidel (and all papists, he said, are infidels) to become head to the Sovereign, they did what in them lay to banish Christ Jesus from the realm. Mary was deeply offended, and sent for the preacher; his description of the interview is not without a touch of Knox's usual burlesque, but we may trust his report of what was said. What, she asked, had he to do with her marriage; what was he in the commonwealth? 'A subject, madam, born within the same.' It was a good answer, though Knox must needs go on to spoil it by boasting that, though he was neither earl nor baron, God had made him a 'profitable member': he might have allowed the Queen to discover that for herself. Mary, finding that she made no impression on this man, was dissolved in tears, and the worthy Erskine of Dun was unable to console her. Knox told her that he took no delight in her weeping; he could not even bear the crying of his own boys when his hands corrected them. The interview was, as might have been expected, without result. When the Reformer left Holyrood, nobody would speak to him but the rough Lord Ochiltree. Moray began to feel that he must choose between Mary and Knox, and, for the moment, he chose Mary; during many months no communication passed between the minister of Edinburgh and the official leaders of his party.

On the 25th June the Assembly met at Perth. There was some useful conference as to the planting of kirks. Winzet's case had called attention to the dangers of a free press; it was now enacted that no work on religion should be published without leave of the superintendent; doubtful cases might be referred to the Assembly.

Mary's prosecution of Catholics did nothing to abate the ill-feeling between the parties. In August some of her servants, in her absence, were hearing Mass at Holyrood; this led to disturbances. Some twenty-two persons, of whom eight were women, were put on trial for the Mass; at the same time proceedings were taken against Protestants charged with acts

of violence. On the 8th October Knox sent out a letter requiring the brethren to give their ' presence, comfort, and assistance ' to the accused Protestants. The Queen was advised that this letter was a breach of the law which forbade the convocation of her lieges without her permission. Mary was keen to take the matter up, and in December Knox was brought before the council. The Queen was present, and there was a good attendance. If Mary had been less confident, she might hove seen at a glance that she could not hope for a conviction. Her Protestant lords were in full force, and Ruthven at once began objecting to the form of the charge. The Catholics were well represented by the Lord President, Sinclair, still meditating on the probability that his house would be sacked if he opposed the dominant party. Outside the council-room the stairs and passages were crowded with sturdy partisans of the accused. The nobles refused to find Knox guilty, and this deliverance must have strengthened his hold on the Assembly, which met soon after the trial. There was no business of the first importance. Goodman spoke of the inadequate provision for ministers, and Lethington reminded him that an Englishman ought not to meddle with Scots affairs. Robert Pont agreed to be superintendent at Inverness, provided that he was not to be burdened with Gaelic-speaking churches. Robert Ramsay was suspended for suggesting that there was a middle way between Papists and Protestants.

Randolph was resuming his duties as English agent at the Scottish court. On his way north he came upon Lethington, just taking possession of abbey lands near Haddington, granted him by the Queen in acknowledgment of his able service: this grant brought the Secretary into hostile relations with the Earl of Bothwell.

The main object of Randolph's mission was the marriage of the Queen of Scots. It was to the English interest that she should marry a person, not of sovereign rank, and, if possible, a Protestant. Nerving herself for a great effort, Elizabeth offered her own Robert Dudley, whom she meant to raise to the English peerage; Mr. Knox would have welcomed this proposal; he was friendly with Dudley, as he was with Morton,

or with any man who supported the Protestant cause. Mary was quietly sarcastic, and put the offer on one side.

Another marriage caused a momentary flutter in Edinburgh ; Mr. Knox, a hardened campaigner of fifty, took to wife Margaret Stewart, daughter of Lord Ochiltree, a girl of sixteen. The Queen stormed, because a lady of her name was marrying a low-born man, and the Reformer's enemies thought he must have used necromancy to obtain the consent of so young a bride. Mrs. Bowes retired to her own estate in Yorkshire, taking with her the two little sons of her daughter Marjorie.

The Assembly met again on the 25th June, and again there was a formal conference between the Queen's advisers and the representatives of the Kirk, Knox, as usual, taking the most prominent part. He justified his rebellious attitude by contending that Mary was a rebel against God : this was proved by her attendance at Mass, and her absence from Protestant worship. When would she give her presence to the public preaching ? ' I think never ', said Lethington, ' so long as she is thus treated.' It was, indeed, unfair to expect a high-spirited young lady to attend a preacher who was constantly comparing her with the less reputable queens in Hebrew history. Lethington plied his opponent with passages from Luther, Calvin, and others who had taught obedience to princes as a Christian duty ; Knox fell back, as usual, on the Old Testament, and the conference was without result.

The debate on the Queen's marriage was about to take a dangerous turn. Matthew Stewart, Earl of Lennox, was one of the nobles who had gone farthest in supporting the designs of Henry VIII. Forfeited in Scotland, he took refuge in England, where Henry received him kindly, gave him lands in Yorkshire, and married him to Margaret Douglas, daughter of Margaret Tudor by her marriage with Angus. Their eldest son, Lord Darnley, was now a long lad of nineteen ; his temper was insolent, and his habits were low ; the Countess had more than once suggested that her son would make a good husband for the Queen of Scots. All the family were Catholics. Lennox was now scheming to return to Scotland ; Cecil had some misgivings, but Lethington assured him that the Protestant

settlement was too firmly established to be undermined. Moray wrote in the same sense, and added that under Mary the Protestants had liberty in such abundance as their hearts could wish. Elizabeth allowed Lennox to leave England, and on Michaelmas Day, when Dudley was created Earl of Leicester, she made a passing reference to Darnley's matrimonial prospects.

Pius IV was spending this year of his reign in gathering up the results of the Council of Trent. He sent the decrees to Mary, admonishing her to observe them, and to dismiss heretics from her service. So far as doctrines were concerned, the Council had been a disappointment. There had been a time when bishops and doctors thought it easy to embody the Faith in a precise form so buttressed with texts from Scripture and the Fathers that no Christian man could impugn it. In the course of debate, differences arose and parties were formed ; some important questions were postponed, and some were settled by compromise. In practical matters the Council was more successful ; there can be no doubt that it marks the beginning of a great improvement in the morals and learning of the Catholic clergy. This improvement was now rendered possible because the Roman authorities had to face the competition of many Protestant Churches, all of them eager to point out the defects of the Roman system.

The Assembly met in December. The question whether a minister might be a judge of the Supreme Court was raised but not decided. Every minister, exhorter, and reader was directed to procure the authorized psalm-book, and to use the order therein contained. The regular prayers of the Kirk were read out of the book ; they were supplemented, as we have seen, by extempore petitions, which were often political and fiercely personal in their application.

Before the end of the year, the Queen's French secretary returned to his former master, the Cardinal of Lorraine. His place was taken by an Italian, David Rizzio, whose cleverness and musical talent gave him admission to the inner circle of Mary's friends. Like all who served her, he was kindly treated ; he had fine clothes and good horses, and his duties gave him access to the Queen at moments when her nobles were kept

waiting. There is no evidence to indicate that Rizzio was more to Mary than an obliging servant, but, at a court such as Holyrood then was, scandal is always busy.

Parliament met the Queen's wish by restoring Lennox to his estates; in February Darnley and the Queen met at Castle Wemyss, and it was easily seen that Mary had chosen him for her husband. She wanted, naturally, to marry a man of her own religion; Elizabeth had sanctioned the match by allowing Darnley to go to Scotland; and the Scots nobles were inclined to acquiesce. But the fact that Elizabeth helped to make the marriage did not prevent her from perceiving that she was bringing together two Catholic pretenders to the English crown. She tried to recall Darnley and his father to England, and she sent one messenger after another to frighten Mary into submission.

Easter was always a trying season for the guardians of the public peace; at Edinburgh there was a slight revival of disorder. A priest named Carvet was caught returning from a house where he had said Mass; after some kind of trial he was placed in the pillory, his chalice in his hand, and pelted with rotten eggs. Knox's *History* gives this man a bad character, but it would hardly be safe to condemn any Papist on this testimony.

When the Assembly met in June the political situation was already defined, and the venerable house at once took its share in the impending conflict by demanding the suppression of the Queen's Mass. This Assembly also formulated the demand that all teachers in schools, colleges, and universities should be approved by the Kirk.

Moray, like all the leaders of the Protestant party, was in Elizabeth's pay, and was bound to take his instructions from her. For some time past Cecil had regarded Mary's brother as a possible Protestant King of Scots; but Moray himself never grasped at the crown, and Elizabeth would not have supported him in doing so. He had, however, strong reasons for objecting to his sister's choice. He said that Darnley would not be a setter-forth of Christ's religion, and this was unhappily true. Nor was this the young man's only fault.

Lord Robert Stewart had shown Darnley a map of Scotland, and had pointed out the extent of Moray's possessions; Darnley said it was 'too much'. He may have sealed his own death-warrant when he made this petulant remark. For the Protestant lords lived in constant fear of a Parliament, controlled by the Queen's partisans, and bent on revoking the titles to their ill-gotten lands.

After divers adventures, Mary and her bridegroom arrived at Holyrood, and there, on the 29th July, they were married with a Catholic service. Being cousins, they needed a dispensation from the Pope; the dispensation had not yet been drawn up, but Mary was justified in assuming that her petition was merely a matter of form. Darnley left the church before the wedding Mass; this probably indicates that he was trying to make friends among the Protestant lords. Soon after his arrival in Scotland he had gone to hear Knox, and on Sunday, the 19th August, he sat again in the royal chair at St. Giles to hear him. This is the only sermon by Mr. Knox which has been preserved; we read it now with distress and disappointment. There is not a word of the Evangel in this discourse; it is a tedious harangue on the wicked princes of the Old Testament. A sustained attack on Ahab and Jezebel was obviously aimed at the King and Queen. Darnley was much upset; Mr. Knox was summoned to appear before the Council, and forbidden to preach while the King and Queen were in Edinburgh. The inhibition did not keep him silent very long; the rebels were arming, and the Queen had to take the field against them. Her short campaign was a brilliant success; friends gathered round her banner, and Moray was so outnumbered that he had to retreat in a southerly direction. From Dumfries he and his friends issued a somewhat unconvincing statement of their grievances; when the royal army approached, they crossed the Border, and were safe at Carlisle. Elizabeth had sent them money, enough to encourage the rebellion, but not enough to make it successful; she had sent no troops. Moray resented her behaviour, and, as soon as his friends had found shelter in England, he pressed on alone to remonstrate with Elizabeth. On the 22nd October he had an

interview with Elizabeth and Cecil; next day a Council was summoned; the French ambassador was invited to be present; Moray knelt at the table while Elizabeth read him a homily on the sin of rebellion, and compelled him to say that he had received no help from her. We should wrong all the actors in this admirable comedy if we supposed that Elizabeth was trying to deceive M. de Foix; she only wished him to understand that this was her version of the facts.

When Mary and her husband returned to Edinburgh it was noticed that there was some coldness between them. Darnley had set his foolish heart on the crown matrimonial, which the Queen would not give him without consent of Parliament. Deserted by Moray and Lethington, Mary was in effect her own secretary of state; Rizzio was not a good French scholar, and his political importance has probably been exaggerated. For the moment, Mary had beaten her rebels in policy and in arms. It is just at this juncture that Randolph, a faithful echo of Protestant rumour, begins to hint that the Queen of Scots has lost her good name; for the honour of a queen he will give no details, but the reference is to the Italian secretary.

On Christmas Day, being a holy day in the old Church, the Assembly met for business, and the Queen's answer to the demand presented in June was communicated to the house. She was 'no wise persuaded' to give up the Mass; she might forfeit the old alliance with France by doing so. She would retain her patronage in the Kirk. John Row drew up a cautious reply, asserting once more that the religion of the Assembly was the religion of Christ; as to patronage, there was no intention that the Queen or others should be defrauded of their rights, but presentees ought to be tried by 'learned men'. A fast was ordered, to begin at the end of February, for the Queen's Mass and other offences. Mr. Knox was to write to ministers, exhorters, and readers to continue in their vocation, which they were like to leave for lack of payment of their stipends. This Assembly also decided that children baptized by a Catholic priest should not be re-baptized. On this point the Protestant leaders were in a difficulty: they had themselves been baptized in Catholic times, and they were unwilling

to repeat the ordinance, lest they should be taken for Anabaptists.

When the Assembly met, the papal chair was vacant. The busy life of Pius IV had ended on the 9th December; his successor, Cardinal Chislieri, was elected in January; in compliment to his predecessor (with whom he had not always agreed) he took the name of Pius V. The new pope was a Dominican friar, an active moralist and disciplinarian, wholly imbued with the visionary politics of the Holy See. His accession was welcomed by the men who were working for a combination of the Catholic Powers, to stamp out heresy and to restore the papal system. But the Catholic League was never an effective reality; France and Spain were not of one mind in this matter. From time to time there was also some talk of combination among the Protestant Powers, but for various reasons, political and religious, these projects came to be abandoned.

As a Catholic, Mary of course wished to see her own Church restored; she corresponded with the Pope and the King of Spain as one who sympathized with their schemes. In our Protestant books Mary embodies the reactionary policy of Rome, while Knox is presented as the chief author of the liberties we now enjoy. This view of the case is very far from accurate. Mary's French training had enabled her to understand the principle of 'compromise in religion'—the principle on which our liberties are founded. Her liberalism may not have been a reasoned conviction, but she was the first to suggest that Catholics and Protestants might live peaceably side by side in Scotland. She failed, because Knox was fighting, not for liberty, but for political power to suppress the Mass. His excuse is this, that in the sixteenth century no religion was quite safe unless it was dominant. When it was dominant, the current interpretation of the Bible made persecution a sacred duty.

On the 24th February, Mary's friend Jean Gordon was married to the Earl of Bothwell; the Queen wished them to be married with the Mass, but to this Bothwell would not agree. As to religion he was probably indifferent, but he had

seen the solid advantages of standing in with the Protestant lords. Huntly, the bride's brother, was in the same position. Mary took him out of prison, and began to restore the lands which had been forfeited since the skirmish at Corrichie ; but from this time forth he also must be reckoned among the enemies of the Mass.

A few days after this wedding the fast ordered by the Assembly began ; day after day men went in crowds to hear sermons ; the subject was always or usually some sanguinary passage of the Old Testament. It was known that some ' great attempt ' was in hand ; there was constant communication between Moray and his exiled friends at Berwick and Morton, who took care of their interests in Edinburgh. Morton or one of his confederates had secured the assistance of Darnley by persuading him that Rizzio and the Queen were lovers ; the luckless youth was drinking heavily, and was, no doubt, an easy victim. As was usual in Scottish politics, legal instruments were drawn, to keep the Queen's enemies together. The substance of the agreement was, that Moray, Argyle, and their faction were to support the King of Scotland in all his actions, causes, and quarrels (Rizzio was not mentioned by name), and to procure him the crown matrimonial. Darnley undertook to maintain the establishment of their religion. Of all the ' bands ' in Scottish history, this is the most entirely disgraceful to all who signed.

On Saturday, 2nd March, the bond was signed at Berwiek by Moray, Rothes, Ochiltree, Kirkaldy of Grange, and others. On the following Thursday, Parliament met in Edinburgh, and Mary had the satisfaction of seeing that her prelates were placed ' in the ancient manner '. The Lords of the Articles were chosen, but this was the only business transacted in this Parliament. On Saturday evening, while Rizzio was at supper with the Queen and the Countess of Argyle, Morton quietly posted his men on the passages and stairs of Holyrood. The conspirators had thought of holding some kind of trial, but as soon as a blow was struck the Italian was hurried out of the Queen's presence, butchered on the landing at the head of the stairs, and hastily interred in front of the abbey. Morton had

carried his point; on Sunday morning the Parliament was dissolved.

Cecil, of course, was fully informed as to the 'great attempt' and its authors. In one of the lists furnished to him, the names of Knox and Craig were added at the end. It is not likely that the ministers had any active share in the crime, but Knox probably knew of it beforehand, and approved of what was done. Cecil circulated the report that Rizzio was killed in the act of adultery with the Queen.

Mary was within a short time of her 'downlying', and some hoped that she and her unborn child would share the fate of the Papist secretary. Her fortitude at this crisis has few parallels in the history of her sex. After a night of suffering, she resumed her ascendancy over her worthless and now terrified husband. When Moray and his company arrived on Sunday evening, she received her brother kindly, and he, in his bluff honest way, swore he knew nothing of the crime. The Queen had still some untitled servants on whom she could rely; with their aid she prepared for flight. In a few days she was safe in Dunbar; Huntly and Bothwell (professing Protestants, but enemies of Moray) were bringing men to her standard; as in the previous autumn, it appeared that the Queen's party was the nation, *minus* the extreme Protestants. When she advanced on Edinburgh, Morton and the rest found it safer to take the road to England. That road was closed to the author of the *First Blast*; Mr. Knox slipped westward to his friends in Kyle.

Having yielded to the Queen's influence, Darnley soon babbled out all he knew of the plots against her. She heard now what her brother had done, but her one anxiety was to keep the peace. She feared she might die when her child was born; she would fain have reconciled her nobles, so that the child, if it survived, might not be without friends. She began to pardon even those who had a hand in Rizzio's death. Morton, the chief offender, remained in exile, and Elizabeth took no action against him. Lord Ruthven, who had risen from a bed of sickness to witness the slaughter of Signor Davie, died at Newcastle, and we are told that he made a Christian end.

In May there was another fast, and on this occasion prayers were offered for the Queen's safe delivery. On the 19th June her son was born. 'He is only too much your son,' she said to Darnley, and we may remember that the evil habits of his father, and the shock of that terrible evening at Holyrood, account for some of the physical and mental peculiarities which this infant was to display.

On the 25th June the Assembly met and went on with business as usual. One of its decisions is to be noted: the Lords of Council and Session were to be asked to see that excommunicated persons should not have 'the liberty of any process'. Those whom the Church condemned were to be put outside the protection of the State. About this time Knox boasted that the Kirk had nothing which flowed from 'that Man of Sin'. Nothing, perhaps, except the political theory of Innocent III.

During the autumn of this year the Queen was kept in alarm by the intolerable conduct of her husband. Excluded, by his own faults, from any share in government, Darnley formed wild plans, and changed them from day to day. He would join the English Catholics in seizing Scarborough, or he would become a pirate-prince in the Scilly Isles. He wrote to the Pope, and to the kings of France and Spain, accusing his wife of indifference to the interests of religion. Darnley had just sense enough to see where the Queen's policy was vulnerable. Sooner or later, the Jesuits would discover that she could not be relied on to take a decided part in the campaign against heresy.

Chisholm, Bishop of Dunblane, had spent the summer at Rome, congratulating Pius V on his accession, and reassuring him as to the fidelity of the Queen of Scots. Before he left, the Scots bishop supped with the Pope; Pius called his attention to the modest scale of the papal household, and hinted that he was saving money for Mary. But before the Queen could have the aid she needed, her sincerity must be tested. For this purpose one Laureo, Bishop of Mondovi, was sent to Paris with a wide commission, in which Scotland was included. Laureo went to Paris, conversed with those who were supposed to know best, and drew his plan of campaign.

He had taken up the notion that Darnley was the leader of Mary's opponents. But Darnley's power depended on the support of six evil men—Moray, Morton, Argyle, Lethington, Bellenden the justice-clerk, and Makgill the clerk-register. If Mary would have the six arrested and put to death, she would do something signal for the service of God, and earn all the assistance the Holy Father could give her.

Some time had to elapse before Mary could give a definite answer to this proposal. At the end of September she made an unsuccessful effort to bring Darnley to a better state of mind. She had the sympathy of her nobles, and it was about this time that Du Croc, the French ambassador, sent home a favourable report of the results of her policy. Never, he wrote, had he seen the Queen so beloved, esteemed, and honoured; never had there been such a harmony among her subjects as there was by her wise conduct. The worthy gentleman mistook the lull before the storm for a settled calm. Darnley had betrayed his Protestant allies; he was under Mary's influence; at any moment he might join her in holding a Parliament to forfeit Moray and the exiled Morton. It was likely that Darnley would be murdered; the usual bonds were already being prepared.

In October Mary held an assize at Jedburgh. Bothwell, her chief officer on the Border, was laid up at Hermitage, dangerously wounded in the performance of his duty. When the assize was over, the Queen rode twenty miles to Hermitage; stayed two hours, to the great contentment of the invalid, and rode home the same day. This imprudence brought on a fever, so acute that at one moment the Queen was supposed to be dead. She recovered, and, after a short progress along the Border, she turned homeward. At Craigmillar her principal men met to consider the urgent question, what was to be done with the King. Divorce was a possible remedy, but Mary would not endanger the hereditary rights of her son. The speech attributed to Lethington is in his best manner. He invited the Queen to trust her nobles; she should see nothing but what was good and approved by Parliament. (The lords would have disposed of Darnley without difficulty, if they

had been allowed to put him on his trial for treason, but to this the Queen would not agree.) If anything irregular were done, Lethington undertook that Moray, 'though he be not less precise for a Protestant than your grace is for a papist,' would 'look through his fingers'. The phrase is happily descriptive; it appears to have been taken from Luther's Bible, Leviticus xx. 4.

In December the Queen was due at Stirling, where a brilliant company assembled to witness the baptism of her son. He was to be called Charles James; his godfathers were the King of France and the Duke of Savoy; Elizabeth was godmother, and sent a handsome gold font for the ceremony. Archbishop Hamilton and several other prelates were there in their robes; the English envoys and the Protestant lords did not enter the chapel, but the Countess of Argyle walked in the procession, and held the baby at the font. Darnley was in Stirling, but he absented himself from the baptism of his child, probably because he feared that the English envoys would decline to give him even the courtesy title of king. Sullenly he flung away and went to his father's house at Glasgow. He was sickening for smallpox, and for some weeks he lay ill, utterly depressed, unable to enter into the schemes in which Lennox was always engaged. Mary now completed the acts of grace by which the murderers of Rizzio had been absolved; Morton was free to come out from under Elizabeth's wing.

On Christmas Day the Assembly met at Edinburgh. The Helvetic Confession was approved, in general terms, but the house could not agree to the observance of holy days such as Christmas and Easter. A protest was entered against a commission of jurisdiction which the Queen had granted to the Archbishop; to restore any of the old Church courts was, as they expressed it, to cure the head of the Venomous Beast. Mr. Knox was probably not present; the Assembly gave him six months' leave that he might visit his sons in England. He carried with him a letter, penned by himself, in which the Anglican bishops were asked to deal gently with those Puritans who declined to wear the surplice. 'Ye cannot be ignorant,' says the letter, 'how tender a thing the conscience of man is.'

This might be taken as a reflection on certain acts of the Assembly, but we ought perhaps to hold that a Papist has no conscience. Many learned men are convinced that Mary, during the later months of 1566, was in guilty relations with Bothwell, and that she became an active party to the murder of her husband. The names of those who find her guilty are more weighty than the names of her defenders. I do not find their arguments wholly convincing; but I cannot set my opinion against that of the received authorities.

When Mary's guests had departed from Stirling, she returned to Holyrood, and on the 14th January she received the two envoys who were to invite her acceptance of Laureo's proposals. One was the Bishop of Dunblane; the other was that Edmund Hay whom we have seen guiding the steps of his venerable friend, Nicholas of Gouda. They pressed her with the usual arguments of their party; her answer was unmistakably clear. She could not, she said, stain her hands with the blood of her subjects. As for the Queen of England, Elizabeth was her friend, and had recognized her claim to the English succession. It should be noted that this answer was given, not for public effect, but in a private conference with two adherents of her own religion. It was a deep disappointment to Hay, an ardent Jesuit, and to the whole party of which the Jesuits were the ubiquitous agents.

Morton was now residing at Whittingehame, and on the 18th January Bothwell rode out to see him; with Bothwell was Lethington, just married to Mary Fleming, but willing to spare a day for public affairs. Their object was to suggest that Morton should take the lead in the plot against Darnley. Bothwell, of course, said confidently that the Queen was in sympathy with the plot; but Morton had suffered for his share in the 'great attempt' of the previous March; he asked to see the Queen's handwriting, but this was not produced. All that could be learned was, that the Queen would have no speech of the plot now in hand. On or about the 20th, Mary went to Glasgow to see her husband. A report had reached her that Lennox and Darnley were scheming to put the Queen in prison, that they might govern in the name of the infant

prince. When she entered the sickroom, she attacked her husband on this point ; Darnley was penitent and submissive, and Mary finally suggested that he should finish his cure at Craigmillar. When they reached Edinburgh, the King refused to go on to Craigmillar ; perhaps he thought he would be taken to Holyrood, but Mary naturally shrank from living with a man hardly recovered from smallpox. A lodging was found for the King in a house attached to the collegiate church of St. Mary-in-the-Fields.

Lord Robert Stewart warned Darnley that his enemies were seeking his life, and the King repeated this, as he repeated everything, to his wife. When Mary appealed to Moray, the Lord Robert gave Darnley the lie, and said he had spoken no such thing. Lord Robert was standing in with the Protestant lords ; he had his reward at a later time, when he was allowed to plunder the diocese once governed by the worthy Reid. He could not afford to have it known that he was trying to save a traitor from the vengeance of the Protestant party.

When the conspirators came to discuss their plans, Bothwell proposed to settle the matter by blowing up the house where the King lay. Captain Cullen, the husband of Morton's mistress, pointed out that the effects of gunpowder were uncertain ; we may be sure that the hint was not lost, either on Morton or on his intelligent cousin Archibald Douglas.

Sunday the 9th February was the day fixed for the second ' great attempt '. On the morning of that day Moray rode quietly out of Edinburgh ; his Countess was opportunely ill in Fife. In the evening Mary spent some time with her husband, and left him to be present at a wedding party in Holyrood. After she had gone Darnley and his servant read the 55th Psalm ; in his book it may have been one of the psalms for the morning of the 10th, the morning whose light he did not live to see. No passage of Scripture could be more appropriate to the situation of those two men. The King composed himself to rest, but before long he was roused, probably by some professing friend who warned him of his danger and urged him to fly. Seizing their clothes the two young men may have been guided down the outside stair, and perhaps across the

Thieves' Row into a larger garden beyond. At some point of their flight they were seized by a small party, probably a party of Douglases ; damp towels were drawn over their faces, and held fast until they ceased to breathe. Their bodies, bearing no mark of injury, were laid out in the larger garden. Later in the night came Bothwell and his men ; the house where the King had lain was blown up, and two more of his attendants were killed. I do not pretend that this brief narrative is proved ; it is only an attempt to piece the evidence together.

Presuming on his achievement at Kirk o' Field, Bothwell resumed the plan which had frightened the weak mind of Arran. He would carry off the Queen and marry her, with or against her will. The men who knew him for an enemy left Scotland ; Moray and Lennox slipped away. Mary could not leave her post, and her relation to Bothwell, whether innocent or guilty, was desperately difficult. She had promoted and enriched him, perhaps with the idea of making him a counterpoise to Moray ; she was now at the mercy of the reckless borderer ; if she lost her life by opposing his will, he could tell what story he pleased about her after her death. And Bothwell, for the moment, was co-operating with the Protestant lords.

By the beginning of April, Morton and the rest were ready to gather in the fruits of the King's death. Moray was going abroad ; there was business in hand which he preferred not to touch. Before leaving he made his will, appointing guardians for his only child, a daughter, and naming Mary as ' overswoman ' to see that the guardians did their duty. He probably did not foresee that in a very short time his colleagues would drag his sister from her throne. After his departure there was a mock trial, at which Argyle presided, and Bothwell was cleansed of the guilt of the King's death. On the 14th April the Estates met. An Act was passed concerning religion—a curiously short Act, simply reciting the promise Mary had made on landing in Scotland, and acknowledging solemnly that she had kept that promise. Then came the real business of this Parliament : a series of Acts confirming the leaders of the dominant party in their estates : Moray, Morton, and Lethington :

Huntly and Bothwell and Lord Robert Stewart were all now as safe as a Scots Parliament could make them. On the 19th the Estates rose; in the afternoon the Lords went to supper at Ainslie's tavern. After supper a bond was produced, recommending Bothwell, a married man, as a husband for the Queen. It was signed by the Lords present, except Eglinton (a Catholic), who slipped away. On the 21st Mary went to Stirling to see her son; party feeling ran so high that some thought she had gone to poison her only child: she offered him, so they said, an apple and a 'sugarloaf' (he was ten months old) which the infant Solomon declined. As she returned to Edinburgh, Bothwell met her with 800 spearmen, and carried her to Dunbar. With her went Huntly, Lethington, and Sir James Melville. As they rode along, one of Bothwell's men told Melville that the Queen consented to her abduction: this, of course, is what Bothwell would tell his men to say.

What happened at Dunbar we cannot say with confidence; but some urgent motive is required to account for Mary's acquiescence in the proceedings which followed—proceedings which brought discredit on both the contending religions. On the 26th April the Catholic Lady Bothwell applied to the Protestant commissaries for a divorce, alleging her husband's misconduct with one of her attendants; on the 3rd May divorce was granted, and the Countess was free to marry 'in the Lord' where she pleased. Concurrently a commission was directed to the Archbishop to inquire whether a dispensation had been necessary for Bothwell's marriage with Jean Gordon, and whether the dispensation had been procured. The Archbishop had himself granted this dispensation, and Lady Bothwell had kept it carefully, but her brother Huntly forced or persuaded her not to produce it, and the marriage was annulled. Finally, on the 15th May Bothwell and Mary were married at Holyrood; the marriage was solemnized in the great hall with preaching, but without the Mass. Adam Bothwell, Bishop of Orkney, officiated; in his sermon he praised the bridegroom for having embraced the reformed religion and for having resolved to amend his life. Mary's demeanour was not at any moment that of a woman united to

her chosen lover. She was deeply depressed; shortly after the wedding she called for a knife to kill herself.

John Cairns, reader, had refused to publish the banns, and John Craig (the ex-Dominican whom we saw escaping from Rome eight years before) did what one minister could to protest against the marriage; he published the banns unwillingly, and he rebuked Bothwell to his face for having used force to the Queen. While Mary was bearing her evil fortune as she could, the Kirk was holding another fast. We have the list of lessons from Scripture, read on this occasion. They were all taken from the Old Testament; once more the minds of the faithful were turned to the death of Korah and his company, and the slaughter of the Amalekites. The coronations of Saul and Uzziah were also thought suitable; the reason for this will presently appear.

The Lords had performed the letter of their agreement with Bothwell, but they knew that his power could not long continue. Ever since he had captured good English money on its way to the Congregation, Elizabeth had noted him as an enemy; her Scots confederates knew that she 'would not allow of Bothwell'. His accomplices deserted him at once, but they had to consider how to form a government which Elizabeth could recognize and support. They turned to the device which Lennox and Darnley had thought feasible; they might imprison the Queen, and govern in the name of her son. If they were turning this over early in May, we should have an explanation of the references to Saul and Uzziah at the fast. Their party was not wholly Protestant; Athole, for example, was a Catholic, but hostile to Bothwell, and much under Lethington's influence. They took arms, nominally, to avenge the King's death, and to free the Queen from Bothwell; but after Carberry Hill they deliberately allowed Bothwell to ride home unmolested, while Mary was brought a prisoner to Edinburgh. The Protestant mob received her with execrations or with ominous silence; but she had many friends in the town; with the least possible delay she was hurried over to Fife and immured in Lochleven. As yet the darker accusations against her had not taken

shape; she was imprisoned because she 'fortified and maintained' Bothwell, whom the Lords had themselves allowed to go free.

Relieved of her presence the Lords went on with their work. They began an inquiry regarding the King's death, the object being to obtain such evidence as would justify them in putting to death the subordinate agents in the crime. Documents had fallen into their hands, and they began to put together papers which they could use against the Queen. On the 25th June the Assemblies met; Mr. George Buchanan was chosen Moderator. By this time Mr. Knox had visited his boys, and was back in Scotland. He and his colleague thought the moment had come for Protestant reunion; they drew up their policy in the form of Articles, and they spent some weeks in attempting to secure the support of those Protestants who were still hostile to Moray's faction. Their efforts were not successful; Knox himself could not bring in the westland men; they were not faithful to the Queen, but they preferred her to her brother. When the Assembly met again for business in July, the Articles were signed only by Morton and others of the same party.

Elizabeth had watched the revolution in Scotland with some anxiety, and in July she sent Throckmorton, Mary's old acquaintance, to tell the Lords that, as subjects, they had no power to try or punish their Queen. On a Sunday the envoy heard Knox himself, who took a text out of the Kings and 'persuaded extremities' against the Queen. The English envoy went also to Morton, who was not free at the moment to discuss politics. It was a communion day, he said, and he must attend first to the matters of God. Morton had not sat under Mr. Knox without learning the proper language to use. The Lords did not put the Queen to death; as Knox expressed it, 'foolish Scotland would not obey the mouth of God.' They were satisfied with compelling her to sign instruments, demitting the crown, directing the coronation of her son, and recognizing Moray as Regent. On the 29th the infant 'King' was crowned at Stirling; Knox preached. The Reformer objected to the ceremony of anointing, but the Lords over-

ruled him ; they probably thought it safer not to omit any customary detail.

Moray, in France, had been kept well informed as to events in Scotland. He had been furnished with at least one paper which was to be used against the Queen—apparently a draft or incorrect copy of the long letter she was said to have written to Bothwell, from the house at Glasgow where Darnley was laid up. When Moray passed through London, about the end of July, he gave the Spanish ambassador the substance of this document, evidently hoping that it would deter King Philip from taking any action on Mary's behalf. By the 11th August Moray was in Edinburgh, but he would not accept the regency until he had seen the Queen. He went to Lochleven, and spent a long evening in pointing out the dangers of her situation ; he left her that night ' in hope of nothing but God's mercy '. Next day he was more sympathetic, and in the end he brought her to such a frame of mind that she besought him to accept the regency. At this moment Moray had behind him about one-third of the nation. Another third were probably still Catholic ; the rest were Hamiltons, Campbells, and the like, mainly Protestants, but uncertain in their politics. Moray's reflections, if we can read his mind, had brought him to the point at which his friend Cecil had already arrived. If the two nations were to be made consistently Protestant neither could accept a Catholic sovereign. Elizabeth was a latitudinarian, who conformed to Protestantism, so far as was necessary to secure her own position. Mary was a Catholic, too proud to give up her religion at the bidding of her subjects. In one way or other, she must be set aside.

While these issues were slowly taking shape, the current of opinion in other countries was running against Mary. Darnley had been on bad terms with his wife, and he had been suddenly killed ; to the sixteenth-century mind the case was plain. Mary's ill-fated attempt at compromise in religion had displeased both the extreme parties ; militant Catholics thought it natural that a princess who refused to take the lives of heretics should lapse into crime ; while Knox was calling for her blood, the Jesuits were praying for her as ' this sinful

woman'. The Pope said he would have no communication with her until she gave better proof of her life and religion. Charles IX and his mother gave Mary to understand that she would not be helped merely because she was a Catholic.

Moray began his short spell of power with vigour, but he had one obstacle to remove before his party was safe. The bond against Darnley was still in existence; it was in the possession of Sir James Balfour, nominally a clergyman, better known as a lawyer, whom Bothwell had made governor of the castle at Edinburgh. Balfour was willing to part with the document and to give up the castle, but his terms were high; Moray had to give him £5,000, the priory of Pittenweem, a remission for the King's murder, and a pension for his son. The bond was handed over, and put into the fire. This expensive transaction was completed about the end of November, and on the 4th December Moray and his confederates recorded their belief in the Queen's guilt.

On the 15th December the Estates met in Parliament; five bishops and fourteen titular abbots represented the spiritual Estate. The Lords of Articles (of whom the new Prior of Pittenweem was one) sent in a series of Acts, which were sanctioned in a short time. First, Bothwell's treason was condemned; it was not possible to take action against him, for by this time Bothwell had drifted into prison at Copenhagen, and he did not recover his liberty. The demission of the crown, the title of the new King, and Moray's regency were confirmed. Parliament ratified the anti-papal legislation of 1560, including the Confession of Faith. The ministers and members of the Kirk were declared to be the only true and holy Kirk in the kingdom. As to benefices, the right of presentation was reserved to the ancient patrons; examination and admission were to be in the power of the Kirk; if a qualified presentee were rejected, the patron might appeal to the superintendent and ministers of the province, and from them to the Assembly, where the cause should take end. Provision was made for enabling the ministers to obtain payment of the 'thirds' assigned to them. Teachers were to be approved by the Kirk. The jurisdiction of the Kirk as 'declared and

granted ' by Parliament was defined as including the preaching of the Word, correction of manners, and administration of sacraments. Acts were also passed to justify the detention of the Queen in Lochleven ; these Acts are worded with some ambiguity, but the Estates declared that Mary had deserved all that had been or might be done to her.

When the Assembly met on Christmas Day, these Acts were mentioned with general satisfaction. A letter was sent to Willock, assuring him that religion was now established, and asking him to return. Willock was settled at Loughborough ; he paid only a short visit to Scotland, and went back to his parochial duties. The Bishop of Orkney's irregularities were noticed, and Craig explained his action in regard to the Queen's marriage. The Earl of Argyle was censured for living apart from his wife, and the Countess for taking part in the prince's baptism. She was ordered to do public penance.

In the sixteenth century it was easy to get into prison, but on the other hand it was sometimes easy to get out. On the 2nd May, Mary escaped from Lochleven. The friends who gathered round her were mainly Protestants, and Argyle, as the most important person on the ground, took the chief command. Moray had the advantage of being advised by Kirkaldy of Grange. At the battle of Langside Moray was victorious, and the Queen committed the fatal blunder of taking refuge in England.

Elizabeth's management of the charges against the Queen of Scots was extremely adroit. She could not try a foreign sovereign ; nor would she admit that subject persons could try their own Queen. She used the charges as an excuse for declining to see Mary, and she held a kind of inquiry, at York and Westminster. She was, as she firmly believed, lady paramount in Scotland, and her Scots confederates had much ado to avoid a definite acceptance of this claim. The details of the investigation do not concern us here ; the Scots commissioners did their best, and their worst, but by the end of the year even Cecil, who was fiercely hostile to Mary, saw that the case could go no further ; on the 10th January 1569 it was his unpleasing duty to read out a statement informing the

commissioners that nothing had been proved whereby Elizabeth could conceive any ill opinion of the Queen of Scots. Moray was free to go home ; he had a 'loan', £5,000 of English money, and a second loan of the same amount. He had not distinguished himself, but he had done his best for his confederates. On his return the Regent resumed his difficult task ; he now had the advantage of working in full accord with Mr. Knox.

On the 25th February the Assembly met ; David Lindsay of Leith, not an extreme man, was in the Moderator's chair. Spottiswood, superintendent of Lothian, was dealt with for slackness, and excused himself by saying that he had not been paid for three years. A letter, written by Knox and signed by Spottiswood, was sent to professors of religion in Lothian ; it was a bitter attack on the Queen, pointing out that Mary could have done nothing without the assistance of Protestants ; offenders were warned that the Kirk had the power of excommunication.

During the following months the Regent was busy getting his enemies into prison, hanging thieves, burning witches, and establishing order. With the aid of Erskine of Dun he purged the University of Aberdeen ; the principal and the four regent masters were expelled as Catholics. Huntly had to give security for good behaviour ; he was accused of ' collecting ' the revenues of the Kirk. On the 5th July the Assembly met again ; on the 25th there was a convention at Perth. Elizabeth made proposals for restoring Mary to power, or to a share of power ; but this, of course, was not feasible ; to restore the Queen would be to upset the distribution of property and power effected by two Parliaments. Mary herself suggested an inquiry, with a view to the annulment of her marriage with Bothwell, but this also was refused. The Duke of Norfolk, who had presided over the inquiry at York, was a widower for the third time, and had some notion of trying to obtain the hand of the Queen of Scots. Mary had entered into the scheme ; she was naturally eager to enter into any plan or plot which offered her a chance of liberty.

Among the Catholics of northern England Mary had an army of friends ; their leader was the Earl of Northumberland,

who acted in concert with his neighbour, the young Earl of Westmorland. In the middle of November they took arms to restore the old religion, and to release the captive Queen. But they kept the field only for a month ; on the 16th December their forces were disbanded. After the rising was over Elizabeth's revenge was ample and ruthless ; she took, in cold blood, more than twice as many lives as Mary Tudor had taken during the whole of her ' bloody ' reign. Many insurgents escaped into Scotland ; Northumberland himself took shelter with Armstrong of Harelaw, who sold him to the Regent. At the end of December Moray was in Edinburgh arranging for the detention of Northumberland in Lochleven. On the 2nd January the Regent wrote to Cecil, and with the same messenger went a note exhorting Cecil to ' strike at the root ', that is, to put the Queen of Scots to death. This note was signed ' Yours to command in God, John Knox, with his one foot in the grave '.

On the 23rd January, as Moray rode along the street in Linlithgow, he was shot, from a window, by Hamilton of Bothwellhaugh. On the 14th February he was buried in Edinburgh, and Knox preached to a very large congregation. In his prayer the Reformer acknowledged the great fault of which the good Regent had been guilty, the ' foolish pity ' which prevented him from putting the Queen and her accomplices to death. For the moment there was a truce between the factions ; Kirkaldy of Grange, now Governor of Edinburgh Castle, mourned his old leader sincerely, and carried the standard before the coffin. Grange had now become a champion of the Queen whom he had helped to dethrone ; his generous temper resented the injustice of the successful party, and Lethington, now his constant adviser, may have shown him that the case against Mary was not so plain as many thought it. Mary herself heard of her brother's death with satisfaction ; she asked that Bothwellhaugh should have a pension out of her French revenues, and she hinted that there was another ' wicked creature ' who might well be put out of the world. Who this other creature was, it is not easy to make out, but Coligny has been suggested.

A new Regent had to be chosen, and from the outset the claims of Lennox were thought to be the best; his record, in religion and politics, was dubious, but he was the King's grandfather, and Elizabeth agreed to the appointment. He took office in unquiet times; in this year English armies crossed the border more than once, to punish those who had harboured the Queen of England's rebels. While the choice of Moray's successor was still under discussion, every Protestant in both kingdoms was roused to anger by the publication of the bull in which Pius V undertook to depose Elizabeth and to release her subjects from their allegiance.

On the 5th July the Assembly met, and gave its opinion on the political issue before the country. Ministers were directed to pray for the King, and the sword of authority was brandished over those who did not recognize his title. On the 25th July Lennox was proclaimed Regent.

In October Mr. Knox had a stroke of apoplexy; the attack was slight, but one effect of it was to make him even less guarded in his language than he had been in earlier days. His thoughts dwelt much on the wicked men who held the castle for the Queen. In December Grange sent a party from the castle to beat a man with whom he had some hereditary cause of quarrel; there was a scuffle and the man was left dead. On the ensuing Sunday Knox enlarged on this 'fearful and tyrannous fact'; Grange was led to believe that the preacher had called him a murderer and a throat-cutter. After a vain appeal to Craig, the captain of the castle sent a first and then a second complaint against Knox to the Kirk-session; the indomitable old man went slowly and feebly up the High Street to make his defence. The westland men heard that their preacher was in danger, and banded themselves together to protect him.

The Assembly met again on the 5th March, and went through a good deal of business; the fathers and brethren sat in the Tolbooth, in the lower council-room, and some Lords were meeting in the room overhead. One day a paper, written in a disguised hand, was dropped from the upper room into the lower; it was a sarcastic attack on Mr. Knox, and it was

followed up by other papers, making a number of charges against him ; in one or more of these he thought he discerned the legal hand of Sir James Balfour. His effective reply was made from the pulpit, where he recounted, with a touch of pardonable egotism, his own services to his country. He also ornamented the papers of his accusers with contemptuous notes ; in one of these his claim, as a minister of the evangel, is clearly expressed : ' My commission ' (one can almost hear the pen as he writes it down) ' man cannot limitate.' In a sense this is correct ; the preacher must declare the truth, whether men welcome it or no. But a preacher who flings about charges of murder must expect to be ' limitated ' by any means that may be at hand.

At the beginning of April the fortress of Dumbarton, supposed to be impregnable, was taken by a party of the Regent's men. Among the prisoners was the Archbishop of St. Andrews, who was hurried off to Stirling, put through some kind of trial, and hanged ; he is said to have admitted that he was a party to the plot against Moray. John Hamilton was not in any way a credit to his Church, but he had kept his promise not to make terms with her enemies.

On the 18th April Morton returned from an important mission to England ; his services to his party were rewarded by an assignment of the revenues of the vacant archbishopric of St. Andrews, John Douglas undertaking such spiritual duties as the holder of the office might still have to perform. Knox blamed Douglas, but not too severely, because he loved the man. Morton himself was one of the nobles whom Knox denounced in general terms as caring nothing for religion if they could have the Church lands, but he did not attack Morton individually. The politics of this period can only be understood if we bear in mind that every great noble was surrounded by armed retainers, eager to put sword or dagger into any person who stood in their master's way. We must also bear in mind that Morton had consistently supported Knox's party.

In May the Regent held a Parliament at the head of the Canongate, but the business was adjourned ; in June the

Queen's party followed suit with a parliament in the Tolbooth. Grange was master of Edinburgh, and within the limits of his power ministers were required to pray for the Queen. The Bishop of Galloway preached on her behalf; if the report of his sermon can be trusted he argued that Mary, even if her enemies spoke the truth, was no worse than King David.

A committee of Assembly had been appointed in March to confer with the Regent as to ecclesiastical jurisdiction; at the time of the Regent's Parliament it was agreed that a deputation of ministers should go to the castle, to bring the Queen's lords to a sense of their duty. They found Lethington, now a paralysed invalid, sitting in a chair with his little dog in his lap; to him they stated their case, in the presence of Grange and others. Craig, Winram, and Spottiswood were present; the 'Mr. John' of the reported conference may be Craig or Spottiswood; Knox was in Fife and probably too feeble to attend. Lethington declined to admit that the infant, crowned by a parcel of politicians in a difficulty, was a power ordained of God.

The two Parliaments met again in August; each party had the satisfaction of forfeiting its opponents in the customary manner. Lennox held his Parliament at Stirling; the King, now five years old, graced the occasion with his presence. Pushing his tiny finger into a hole in the table-cloth, his majesty remarked that there was 'ane hole in this Parliament': these words were afterwards taken as a prophecy of what was soon to happen. The ministers presented petitions which the Regent said were reasonable; the Lords objected, and Morton said the ministers were 'proud knaves'. A few days later, Grange despatched a force to attack Stirling; in the confusion which ensued Lennox was killed; Mar was at once elected his successor.

Knox was at St. Andrews during some part of the summer. His position at Edinburgh was now untenable; he resolved to spend the winter where he was, and took up his abode in the new hospice of the abbey. He preached as occasion offered, and in his usual manner. Archibald Hamilton, then a teacher in the University, was dealt with for not going to

sermon; he excused himself by charging Mr. Knox with having said that all Hamiltons were murderers. With the students the old man liked to be friendly; when he sat down to rest in the yard at St. Leonard's, he called the lads round him and exhorted them to be faithful to the good cause. James Melville, the diarist, was a student or a young B.A. at the time; he has left us a vivid description of Mr. Knox, coming slowly along in his furred gown, helped up the pulpit stairs, and leaning there like one outworn; but before the sermon was over, 'he was like to ding that pulpit in blads, and fly out of it'. One day he gave a terrible discourse on the crimes of a witch, who was set up at a pillar before him. After sermon the poor creature was burned, the students looking on.

Knox and his friends had been organizing their church on Presbyterian lines; they had not, as yet, taught the unlawfulness of episcopacy, or the parity of ministers. The constitutional difficulty was thought serious; Parliament had always included three Estates, and the spiritual Estate had always been represented by prelates. Morton, the most powerful man in Scotland, regarded the matter from the political point of view. He looked forward to union with England, and he saw that the difference in Church principles was, as indeed it still is, an obstacle to complete unity. He was not greatly concerned about episcopacy, but he needed prelates, to keep the 'proud knaves' of the ministry in order, and to concur in those arrangements by which the revenues of the old Church were being transferred to the King and the great landowners.

In November Erskine of Dun wrote two letters, in which the conditions of appointment to Church offices were wisely discussed; he took no abstract objection to the office of a bishop, but treated it as identical with that of a superintendent. A preliminary meeting at Leith prepared for a more formal conference at the same place on the 12th January. A committee of ministers met a committee of the Council, and an agreement was drawn up, which was received by the nation with apparent indifference. The titles of the old Church were to remain; the bounds of the dioceses were to be

as before; the bishops were to be subject to the Assembly in matters spiritual, and to the King in matters temporal. The titular abbots and priors were to continue in Parliament. As to the appointment of bishops, the convention followed the rule imposed by Henry VIII on the Church of England. Chapters of ministers were annexed to the cathedral churches; the chapter was to elect the bishop, in terms of a royal missive 'recommending' the person to be chosen. The first bishop appointed under the new rules was John Douglas, who was 'elected' in February at St. Andrews; Mr. Knox preached, but took no part in the ceremony of inauguration. In March the Assembly met at St. Andrews; the superintendent of Fife was ordered to go on acting; a committee was appointed to consider the convention of Leith. Knox had a letter from Beza about bishops, but he was too old to enter on a new campaign. On the 6th August the Assembly met again at Perth, and a letter from Mr. Knox was read; the old leader pointed out various dangers of the time, and laid special emphasis on the necessity of preserving the Kirk from the bondage of the Universities, but there is a marked absence of the arguments against episcopacy which would have flowed from the pen of Andrew Melville on any similar occasion. By this time there was an abstinence or truce between the men in Edinburgh Castle and the Regent Mar; the interval was prolonged until the end of the year. Knox was free to return to his parish; he did so, as he explained, on the understanding that he was not to be desired or pressed to temper his tongue.

Pius V had died in May; Gregory XIII sat in the papal chair, and the new Pope was about to gather in the crop sown by his predecessor. The date of Knox's return to Edinburgh coincides with that of the hideous outbreak on the eve of St. Bartholomew in France. Catherine de' Medici had begun her term of power by trying to conciliate the Protestants, and she had never wholly abandoned that policy. But the Huguenots were a party, militant and sometimes threatening, however small their numbers might be. They had to be checked, and the Queen-Mother was willing to act. Catherine herself said

that she was only responsible for the deaths of five or six; she may perhaps have accepted some such plan as that which Bishop Laureo had pressed on the Queen of Scots. When the killing began no human power could stop it; France was full of ardent Catholics, looking and longing for the day when heresy would be extinguished; in a few days the victims were counted by thousands. We can only imagine what was said in Scotland when the news first arrived. On the 20th October the Council conferred with a number of ministers and others. Their first care was to set apart days for public humiliation, with fasting and prayer. As to Papists in Scotland, it was resolved that they should be summoned to recant; those refusing should suffer confiscation of all their goods, and banishment. If any of the banished should return, it should be lawful 'to all subjects in this realm to invade them and every one of them to the death'. These words indicate that our Protestants were not wholly free from the spirit of anarchic violence, which had produced the appalling outbreak in France. Happily for the nation, the powers of the State were just passing into the hands of Morton, whose homicidal impulses were controlled by his robust practical judgment.

During the month of November, Knox lay on his death-bed. The passages read to him were mainly from the New Testament; he indicated John xvii as the place where he 'cast his first anchor'; once in repeating the Lord's Prayer he stopped, saying 'Who can pronounce so holy words?' For himself he claimed only the mercy of God in Christ. He owned that there were some with whom he had dealt hardly, but said he did it only to beat down the wickedness in them. He still had to give a passing thought to Lethington, who was indignant because the preacher had called him an atheist. With his own friends he was cheerful as usual; when two of them came to see him on a Saturday, he insisted on piercing a hogshead of wine, and took them bound to drink it out after he was gone. On the 24th November he died.

No man has left his sign manual more legibly inscribed in our history. Mainly to him we owe it that our Reformation was not a gradual process, but a revolution, pulling down one

system and erecting another, not less rigid, in its place. The faults of his ministry were due to his acceptance of the principle of persecution, to his constant misapplication of the Old Testament, and to his use of the pulpit as a political platform. These roots of bitterness remained in the soil of Scotland, and they yielded an abundant harvest; mainly to Knox we are indebted for 130 years of strife, confusion, and proof-texts.

Margaret Stewart was still a young woman when her husband died; she married Ker of Faldonside, a sturdy Protestant who had been in at the deaths of Rizzio and Darnley. The two sons of Marjorie Bowes, Eleazar and Nathanael Knox, went to Cambridge, where they were entered, sad to say, as Yorkshiremen. Both became Fellows of St. John's and clergymen of the Church of England.

On the day of Knox's death Morton became Regent. How he made his way to supreme power, we have seen; in exercising power he displayed sense and courage, and a close regard for his own interest and the King's. He was a terror to evil-doers; in his time 'the name of a papist durst not be heard of'. He stood aloof from the ministers, and did not allow them to influence his policy. He was not afraid of their censures; in the course of this very year the minister of Dunglass, having publicly rebuked the Earl of Morton for living with Captain Cullen's wife, was placed in the boots, and hanged.

In January the Regent's title was confirmed in Parliament. He had failed to come to terms with the Queen's party, and had asked for an English army to reduce the castle. In March the Assembly met, David Ferguson Moderator. Business was conducted as usual, but the procedure of the house was considered, 'that the weighty matters of the Kirk be not concluded by a few': this is not an uncommon complaint with regard to our Assemblies. In April came Sir William Drury, with English troops and a heavy train of artillery. Drury, by the way, was an excellent man, who had encountered many risks in his dealings with our 'inconstant and ingrate' nation. At the end of May, after a week's bombardment, Grange surrendered to Drury; he and Lethington claimed Elizabeth's protection, but they were left to their fate. Early in July

Lethington died; his disappearance from the stage was so timely that his enemies hinted he had taken poison, but this is merely surmise. Morton half thought of sparing Grange; the preachers insisted that he must die, that it might be fulfilled which was spoken by the prophet Knox. On the 3rd August he was hanged at the market cross, and, as his body swung round to face the declining sun, awestruck voices repeated the preacher's threat that the captain of the castle should 'hang before the sun'. On the 6th August the Assembly met again. The Clerk of the Privy Council brought in a statement of the provision for the Kirk which the Regent was making. Morton took into his own hands the collection of the thirds about which there had been so much controversy, and it was likely that the King would get more than a pair of shoes out of the arrangement. Morton began to economize by appointing 'one minister to four kirks', the unprovided parishes being served by readers. John Davidson, a regent master at St. Andrews, wrote a pamphlet about this, and the University was divided in factions.

The Assembly met in March; five of the new bishops were present, and complaints of their conduct were rife. A minister accepting a bishopric might mean no harm, but each appointment involved some indefensible arrangement about the revenues of the see; the bishop was only a *tulchan*, a stuffed calf-skin set up to induce the cow to give her milk. Thus James Boyd, now Archbishop of Glasgow, was only a *tulchan* for the benefit of Lord Boyd. It is not wonderful that many good men thought they did God service by resisting the episcopal authority. The Regent was invited to attend the Assembly; but he met the invitation with Mary's old question, Who gave them the right to convocate the King's lieges? This they thought a hard answer. John Davidson was in trouble about his book, and hoped the Assembly would help him, but the brethren appointed to try it would 'neither damn nor allow' the work, lest the Regent should be offended. On the 28th May Robert Gourlay, an elder, had been ordered to make repentance in the kirk at Edinburgh for exporting wheat; it does not appear what reason was given for

considering this an ecclesiastical offence. Morton curtly intimated that the wheat was exported with his licence.

In July the party of strict Presbyterianism received a notable recruit. Andrew Melville, the youngest child of a Forfarshire laird, had prepared himself at St. Andrews for a course of study in France ; at the age of twenty-three he was chosen Professor of Latin in the Academy of Geneva, then at the height of its reputation ; after five years of successful teaching he had resigned his chair, to play his part in the controversies of his native country. Wisely refusing to be Morton's chaplain, he waited for some more suitable preferment ; in November he became Principal of the University at Glasgow. As the head of a teaching institution Melville was in his right place ; he laboured hard to make Glasgow a ' good cheap market ' of science and learning ; he showed both firmness and tact in dealing with insubordinate students and unreasonable colleagues. He began at once to argue in favour of the precise notions which he had brought with him from Geneva. Starting from the fact that in the New Testament the names of bishop and presbyter are used interchangeably, Melville inferred that it was ' unlawful ' to create any permanent office in the Church higher than that of the ordinary minister. The weakness of his argument lies in the assumption that the problems of a modern church can be solved by reference to the letter of Scripture. If we find in the New Testament no explicit mention of a bishop ruling over presbyters, it is also true to say that we find no mention of a presbytery governing more than one local church.

The campaign against Morton's bishops was at once begun ; there was some preliminary conference between the representatives of Church and State. In the Assembly which met at Edinburgh on the 6th August 1575, complaints against bishops were called for as usual ; John Durie, one of the Edinburgh ministers, reserved his right to protest against the office of a bishop ; Melville argued at some length ; a committee was appointed to consider, ' Whether bishops, as they are now in the Kirk of Scotland, have their function grounded upon the Word of God, or not ? ' By putting the question in this form,

Melville secured a tactical advantage; no competent divine would undertake to find scriptural authority for the kind of episcopacy established by the convention of Leith. General principles were not sufficiently considered, and this was a misfortune for the Church; an admixture of genuine episcopacy was just what presbytery needed, to make it a good system of government. The obvious weakness of the Melvinian Church was that it had no permanent executive and no impartial judicature. All powers were vested in bodies of untrained men, meeting only for a short time, and numerous enough to be swayed by parliamentary arts.

In April of the following year, the report of the committee was adopted, and bishops were required to accept the status of parish ministers by choosing particular flocks. Morton offered Melville the good living of Govan, on condition that he would cease to agitate against bishops. Melville refused, but suggested that the living might be given to his college, which was very poorly endowed. Morton kept the parish vacant; he said Mr. Andrew was defrauding his college and himself for the sake of 'new opinions and oversea dreams'.

In October the Assembly met again; the Regent was asked to attend or send a commissioner, but he excused himself. Some churchmen had proposed to make Morton an elder, but this he had very properly declined. The Archbishop of Glasgow had agreed to 'haunt to a particular kirk'; he now made explanations as to the exact meaning of his promise. He relied on the convention of Leith, in which it had been agreed that bishops should remain during the King's minority. As to the validity of such an agreement, it would be vain to argue. In Scotland between 1560 and 1690 there was no consistent body of ecclesiastical law. Each party was oppressive when in power, and each thought itself entitled to disregard any rule or agreement of which it disapproved.

At the spring Assembly, it was announced that Mr. Patrick Adamson, the Regent's chaplain, had accepted the archbishopric of St. Andrews. He was an eloquent, scholarly person, and there were no serious charges against his moral character, but his acceptance of a bishopric made him a mark for all the light

artillery of the Presbyterian party. At the Assembly in October Morton sent in forty-two questions, probably drafted by Adamson, relating to the power and patrimony of the Kirk. There is nothing unbecoming or irrelevant in the questions themselves, but the Assembly gave no formal reply. Mr. Andrew was engaged in the composition of a Book of Policy (we know it as the Second Book of Discipline) in which it was hoped that all such questions would receive a final answer. The new formula was founded on the Discipline adopted by French Protestants in 1559 ; its main objects were to exclude episcopacy and to define the relations between Church and State. Following the canonists of the Papal Church, Melville regarded Church and State as co-ordinate and independent powers. There were in Scotland, as he often said, the kingdom of Christ and the kingdom of James ; the ambassadors of either power might forbid the agents of the other to invade its exclusive domain. This doctrine is not in accordance with the facts of which any sound political theory must take account. Church and State are working in the same field (the field is the world) and to the same end (the salvation of men). The State claims the whole man, to make him a good citizen ; the Church, to make him a child of God ; thus the same matters and persons are secular in one aspect, spiritual in another. Co-operation between the two powers is secured, not by precise definitions, but by the exercise of common sense and right feeling. This general statement is true, whether it be applied to an established or to a non-established Church.

Morton had been the State for five years and more, but there were signs of a coming change. In March his enemies, Athole and Argyle, held a convention at Stirling, and the year was occupied by conferences importing an alteration in ' the authority '. The Regent spoke at times of retiring to serve God and the King at home, but the old wolf could still turn fiercely on the pursuing jackals. It was not a favourable moment for a new settlement in Church and State. The Assembly met in April, and the Book of Policy was discussed ; it had been well received in the Kirk, but all approaches to the Council or the Parliament ended in disappointment. To this day the Books

of Discipline are quoted by churchmen as forming part of the law of the Kirk, while the judges continue to hold that they form no part of her compact with the State. During this year there was constant danger of civil war. The new English ambassador, Mr. Bowes (a brother of Knox's first wife), was watching the situation with great anxiety.

The political unrest continued into the next year. The Assembly met in July, and addressed a long supplication to the young King, whom they would fain have regarded as a promising champion of the Kirk. Though just thirteen, James was a person of importance ; his tutors had made him a good scholar ; experience had made him a politician, and he was soon to obtain an adviser after his own mind. On the 8th September arrived his cousin, Esmé Stewart, Lord of Aubigny in France. There were 'vehement presumptions' that this accomplished courtier had been furnished with money to promote the interests of the Pope, the Guises, and the King of France. On the 17th October the young King entered Edinburgh in state ; he stopped at St. Giles to hear James Lawson, the successor of Mr. Knox ; on his way to Holyrood he passed Bacchus sitting on a puncheon at the Salt Tron, and other emblems of festivity. A Parliament was held, and the Confession was duly ratified, but care was taken not to go beyond the legislation of 1567. The King announced that his kinsman was not to be troubled about religion for a year, and Mr. Lindsay was chosen to instruct d'Aubigny in the elements of the reformed religion. The efforts of his instructor and the powerful reasoning of the King were attended with complete success. D'Aubigny, or Lennox, as we are now to call him, abjured his errors in the great kirk at Edinburgh, and signed the Confession at Stirling. When the Assembly met at Dundee in July, he sent a letter, intimating that God had called him to the knowledge of salvation ; the Moderator (James Lawson) wrote to the French church in London, asking for a Protestant chaplain. This Assembly resolved that the office of a bishop 'as it is now used and commonly taken in this realm' has no warrant in Scripture. The proposition, as stated, is undeniably true.

Some Frenchmen had come to Scotland, to share in the

good fortune of Lennox; a little knot of them were lodging in the Canongate, and the Edinburgh ministers (Lawson, Durie, Balcanquhal) were preaching against them. There was a general belief among Protestants that the Pope would grant a dispensation to any Catholic who was compelled by persecution to conform to the Kirk, and there was nothing improbable in the surmise that Lennox's conversion was a case in point. To quiet the public mind, the King induced his minister, Mr. Craig, to draw up a negative Confession, in which Popery was condemned, root and branch. This document is not, in itself, of great interest; the errors of Rome are huddled together in one prolix paragraph; the language is violent, and in some places vague. Among the abuses mentioned, the Pope's 'worldly monarchy and wicked hierarchy' was one. Strict Presbyterians took this as a condemnation of episcopacy in general terms, but, if that had been the meaning, the King would probably not have signed. The Confession was treated as a badge of loyalty, and it was extensively signed. Even the Catholic Lord Seton's name is appended to it; I should conjecture that he signed in the interest of his son Alexander, who was a candidate for the royal protection at the moment.

Before the Confession was signed, proceedings had been taken for the destruction of Morton; Lennox was bent on removing his rival, and had found the instrument he needed—Captain James Stewart, a son of the rough Lord Ochiltree, and a brother of Knox's second wife. This able and unprincipled man was in charge of the insane Earl of Arran, now head of the house of Hamilton; the Duke of Chatelherault had been dead some time, and his dukedom had been resumed by the King of France. The Hamiltons had suffered severely in the faction-fighting of Morton's time, and the active members of the family, Lord John and Lord Claud, were in exile. It was therefore easy to arrange that, if James Stewart took the risks of Lennox's plan, he should himself be Earl of Arran. On the last day of December Stewart appeared before the Council, and accused Morton of being a party to the death of Darnley. The charge was in substance true, but Morton was being removed not for killing the King's father, but in order to

make a clear stage for Lennox. For a time the ex-Regent was detained a prisoner at Dumbarton. He had never been much given to reading, but he now devoted himself to the study of the Bible ; he began at Genesis, and had time to read as far as the book of Judges. While he lay in prison, the Assembly met in April at Glasgow. There was some discussion as to the formation of local presbyteries, an important stage in the constitution of the Kirk. There were still places where the presbytery was not recognized as a judicial authority ; in such places it subsisted only in the form of the Exercise, a periodical meeting of ministers at which passages of Scripture were expounded.

In the last week of May the new Earl of Arran brought his prisoner from Dumbarton to Edinburgh, and on the 2nd June Morton was beheaded at the Market Cross. The ministers who were with him at the last dealt cautiously with this powerful friend and enemy of the Kirk ; they brought a paper of questions which he was pressed to answer. Morton behaved with courage and dignity ; he spoke freely of the great transactions in which he had been engaged, and left the ministers under the impression that, whatever he had been before, he had gone to be with God in glory. His confession, written out after his death, is a document of great value ; though misleading on certain points, it gives us a vivid picture of the times.

When the Assembly met again in October, the most troublesome question was that relating to the archbishopric of Glasgow. The much-enduring Boyd was dead ; the King, in defiance of law and decency, had given the presentation to Lennox, and the see had been conferred on Robert Montgomerie, minister of Stirling. As soon as he became a bishop, this man was charged with maintaining erroneous and unbecoming opinions ; we have no trustworthy report of his discourses, and it is hardly necessary to examine the particular charges. In April the Assembly met at St. Andrews ; Melville, now Principal of the New College there, was Moderator. When the Glasgow case was mentioned, a King's messenger inhibited the proceedings, but no notice was taken of the interruption. Montgomerie, who seems to have displayed great weakness, was

remitted to the presbytery of Glasgow, who were to report him to the presbytery of Edinburgh if he meddled with the bishopric. When the Glasgow presbytery took up the case, the Provost of the city tried to prevent them ; some students came out to fight the Provost's men. On a report to Edinburgh, the presbytery there authorized John Davidson to excommunicate Montgomerie, which he did in the church at Liberton on Sunday the 10th June. A sentence of excommunication involved, not only civil consequences of a serious nature, but all the penalties of what we should now call a strict boycott. Even the Earl of Gowrie was dealt with for receiving the offender in his house, and had to make his peace with the Kirk. The sentence was annulled by a royal proclamation, but no adherent of Melvinian principles would admit that this made any difference ; any individual who offended the Kirk was liable to be deprived of his civil rights. The unlucky Archbishop showed himself publicly in Edinburgh ; he was set upon and pelted with stones and rotten eggs. When the young King heard of this at Perth, he found the tale so amusing that he lay down on the Inch to have his laugh out.

Before the Archbishop's woes had reached their climax, the adjourned Assembly met in Edinburgh at the end of June. The grievances of the Kirk were drawn out under heads in precise language, and commissioners were directed to present them to the King at Perth ; they were presented on the 6th July. Lennox was evidently hostile, and Arran, in his bullying way, asked who would dare to subscribe the ' treasonable articles '. ' We dare,' said Melville ; he signed his name, and the rest followed. The King said little, but it may be that he was not wholly in sympathy with Lennox. He did not wish to be mixed up with Catholic plots, and he may have disliked the correspondence between Lennox and the imprisoned Queen of Scots. From the moment when he felt himself an independent king, James had not favoured any plan which would bring Mary back as a candidate for power.

The movements in the Kirk coincided with a well-organized political movement to get rid of the King's evil counsellors. Once more the Protestant Lords were acting in concert, and

once more they looked for help to England. Elizabeth had kept her agents in Scotland busy; she had written severe letters to James, and her expenditure must have tried the patience of Cecil, now Lord Burghley and Lord Treasurer. With her aid, arrangements were made for 'altering the possession of the King'. On the 22nd August, James went to Castle Ruthven, as the guest of the Earl of Gowrie; next morning, when he looked out of the window, the place was beset with armed men. The people were assured by proclamation that the King was not a prisoner, but for nearly a year he was under tutelage, and did what Gowrie and his friends required. At once a new face of things was seen. John Durie, who had been driven from Edinburgh for preaching against Lennox and Arran, now preached before the King; when he returned to his own parish, a crowd of friends met him at the Netherbow and marched up the street singing the 124th Psalm. They sang in four parts, which is more than a similar crowd could do at the present day. On the 9th October the Assembly met in Edinburgh; the raid of Ruthven was approved, on the ground that the Kirk and the King had been in danger, and ministers were directed to explain the matter to their people. Lennox held his ground as long as he could, but before the year was out, he went to London, where he assured Elizabeth that the King and he were both good Protestants, and so to France. The raid was technically treason, but when we compare it with the bloody enterprises of Morton we see that it marks a stage in the political development of Scotland.

At this Assembly Francis Stewart, afterwards Earl of Bothwell, appeared and stated that he would live and die in the reformed religion. Like his uncle, the hero of Kirk-o'-Field, the new Bothwell was only a reckless adventurer, but his escapades were varied by fits of penitence; the ministers were never sure of him, but some said he had the form of repentance, while the King had not even the form.

At the court of France the raid had caused some perturbation; in January M. de la Mothe-Fénelon came as an ambassador from Henri III; by Mary's permission he was to address James as king. A few weeks later came M. de Menainville,

who brought some fine horses, a present from the Duke of Guise. Lawson and Durie told the king he was not to accept the horses, and when James asked the town of Edinburgh to give a banquet to Fénelon, the ministers appointed a fast for the same day; a great congregation sat from nine till two, while Lawson preached on the sin of being unequally yoked with unbelievers, Durie on the danger of alliances with Perizzites and Jebusites, and Balcanquhal on the mourning of Mordecai. The King was very willing to entertain friendship with France, but he had his own interests to consider. Fénelon only stayed a short time, and Menainville, who remained till April, does not seem to have effected much. On the 28th March, being Maundy Thursday, Menainville brought thirteen poor men into his lodging and washed their feet, to the annoyance of the godly.

Towards the end of May, Lennox died at Paris. It was carefully given out that he died a Protestant, and refused the last sacrament of the Roman Church. The story may or may not be true, but it was evidently published in the interest of the young Duke of Lennox, who was coming to Scotland in the hope of a friendly reception at court.

When the Protestant Lords 'altered the possession of the King', they might have taken steps to bring him under some regular control, but they were not really united; in June James went to St. Andrews, where he resumed his independence. In July he had a meeting with some ministers at Falkland, and John Davidson told him that no man in chief authority had prospered, after the ministers had begun to threaten him. In October the Assembly met; Thomas Smeaton was Moderator. Melville, a keen partisan of what was called the new learning, opened an attack on the philosophy of Aristotle. The unlucky Adamson was in trouble about various matters; the presbytery of St. Andrews and the synod of Fife were both under the influence of Melville and his nephew James. The Archbishop went to London, where he consulted English bishops and French pastors as to the defects of the Melvinian system. Unpleasant stories were told of the Archbishop's behaviour in London, but this was the staple of party controversy in those days.

Early in January a small company of English people landed at Dundee; their leader, Robert Brown, thought he had a message for Scotland; to understand his position, it is necessary to recount, very briefly, the recent history of the Church in England. Cartwright of Cambridge and some others had made a strenuous effort to presbyterianize their own Church; they were defeated by the persistence of Catholic tradition in that Church, and by the inflexible purpose of Elizabeth. Cartwright was a nonconformist, but not a separatist; he remained a loyal minister of his Church; but controversy had called into activity other teachers of a more disintegrating temper. Brown himself was a Cambridge man; he had been a candidate for orders, but he came to believe that his vocation, acknowledged by his flock, was more important than episcopal authority. Wherever a few Christians met together, they were free, as he taught, to form a separate Church, and every such local community was free to exercise all the powers which any Church could rightfully claim. The bishops had, of course, dealt stringently with this doctrine, and Lord Burghley had intervened more than once to save Brown, who was his kinsman, from punishment. It was difficult for the separatists to make progress in England; many of them went over to Holland, where they formed Churches, and disputed eagerly about infant baptism and other points. Brown had visited Middelburg; after breaking up a local Church there, he came now to Scotland with a few disciples. Melville, who knew him as an enemy of bishops, gave him an introduction to James Lawson of Edinburgh, and the English preacher addressed the kirk-session and presbytery, pointing out to them that the Scottish discipline was altogether amiss. The ministers took him quite seriously; they even had him thrown into prison while two brethren collected materials for a refutation of his opinions. Most probably Brown used the name of his powerful kinsman, and in the end he was allowed to return to England. He returned with an unfavourable opinion of the Kirk, which he expressed with his usual freedom.

In February Melville was summoned to defend himself before the King and the Chancellor Arran; he was accused

of preaching a subversive sermon on the history of Nebuchadnezzar and Belshazzar. The accusation was probably not unfounded, but the preacher met it by declining the King's jurisdiction; he told James that he presumed too far in assuming to control the ambassadors of a higher power than his own. Taking his Hebrew Bible from his belt, he flung it on the table as a proof of his commission. Arran opened the book, but, though a man of some education, the Chancellor was probably not a Hebraist. Melville was threatened with imprisonment, and he would have been sent to the dungeon at Blackness, a 'foul hole' kept by Arran's men; he escaped to the Border, and was soon safe at Berwick. Having thus removed their most formidable critic, the King and the Chancellor proceeded to deal with the authors of the raid of Ruthven. Gowrie was thrown into prison, and when the Lords of his party attacked Stirling the King drove them from the field, and their leaders had to make for England. Gowrie was brought to trial and executed. There was another exodus of preachers; even the valorous Davidson had to quit his post.

On the 18th May a sitting of Parliament began, and the King determined to curtail the liberties claimed by the Melvinian Kirk. He made on the whole a moderate use of his power, but the King was recognized as head of the Church, and it was enacted that it should be treason to decline the King's jurisdiction, and that assemblies of the Kirk should meet only as allowed by Parliament and the King: this was the substance of the 'black acts' against which the Kirk continued to protest. On Sunday, the 24th, Lawson and Balcanquhal preached against the Parliament, and immediately went south to join the brethren in exile. Lawson died in London, but Balcanquhal lived to fight another day. Both wrote at length to their flocks, and a letter was circulated, full of Latin quotations, and written, or purporting to be written, by the wives of the oppressed ministers. On the other side, Adamson's industrious pen furnished a defence of the King's policy which obtained currency in England. Melville wrote a fierce attack on the Archbishop, and sent it to Geneva and Zurich; in his account of the sufferings of the Kirk one notices that Morton

is by this time included in the roll of her martyrs. Adamson described his opponent as an ambitious man, of a fiery and salt humour ; but for this language he paid a penalty later on.

On the 10th July William of Orange had been shot dead by an agent of the Counter-reformation ; this event gave an impulse to increased activity among Protestants. In England, Burghley and Walsingham drew up an Instrument of Association for the protection of the Queen ; Elizabeth was constantly in danger from the foolish and wicked plots in which the Papal Court was engaged. Mary saw the Instrument, and offered to sign it ; unhappily her only chance of liberty depended on the success of some plot against her good sister's throne. When the Instrument was turned into an Act of the English Parliament, Elizabeth had a weapon in her hand which would rid her of her enemy.

In Scotland attempts were made to induce the ministers to sign a declaration, accepting the supremacy of the King and the jurisdiction of the Bishop. Craig and others signed 'according to the Word of God', but the saving clause did not satisfy the Melvilles and their party ; James Melville, who was preaching to the exiled Lords at Berwick, wrote a prolix remonstrance to the subscribing brethren. In February a synodal assembly was held, Adamson presiding, and articles for the guidance of ministers were drawn up by John Maitland, a younger brother of Queen Mary's Lethington, and an adviser on whom the King greatly relied. There is no lack of ability in the manifestoes of this period, but these voluminous papers do not really explain the question at issue. Richard Baxter writes that in most wars and contentions there are faults on both sides, and so it was with the King and the Kirk. Both argued, sincerely but erroneously, that an authority, divine in its origin, must be unlimited in its exercise. The fact remains that authority, however high its origin, is vested in fallible men, who must be restrained by good laws and usages. No King should be free to govern like James, and no minister to preach like Melville.

The plague was in Scotland this year, and many blamed Arran for the visitation ; but the power of this man was not

to continue long. His heartless behaviour to Gowrie's widow had given general offence, and no Hamilton could sit quiet while an Ochiltree Stewart kept house at Kinneil and wore the title which belonged to the head of that ambitious tribe. Some of the exiled Lords had a close understanding with the English Government; Elizabeth had sent Sir Philip Sidney to assure them of her friendly interest. Late in October they held a religious meeting at Westminister, and began to move northward; once in Scotland, they were joined by many friends. As they advanced on Stirling, the King gave way without a struggle, and Arran fled; he lost even the title which had made him so many enemies; for the rest of his life he was only Captain James. The ministers expected now to witness the triumph of the Kirk, but alas! the Lords were, as usual, 'every one for his own particular': only the Earl of Angus remembered the principles he had learned from James Melville. Balcanquhal returned with the rest; in January he preached before the King at St. Giles, and the King answered him from the royal gallery. The old compromises about bishops were treated as still subsisting, and the Melvilles lost patience. When the synod of Fife resumed its meetings, James Melville made a vehement attack on Adamson, who was present. The Archbishop was excommunicated, and consoled himself by excommunicating his opponents: at this period the Church courts of either party used the extreme penalty of Church law very much as a Scots Parliament would use the penalty of forfeiture. Adamson was in bad health, and the unpleasant details of his illness were described with a zest which reminds us of Knox's treatment of Mary of Guise. Among the tales circulated against the Archbishop some were tales of witchcraft; he was said to have gone to 'wise women' to cure him, and one of these advisers was said to have given him a mixture of ewes' milk and claret—a less noxious prescription than some that were signed by great doctors in those days.

On the 10th May an Assembly was held in Edinburgh; the King used every effort to influence the proceedings. The irregular sentence against the Archbishop was set aside; the place of bishops in the Kirk was, as far as possible, retained.

After the Assembly, the King dealt with the two Melvilles ; Mr. Andrew was sent to ' confer with Jesuits ' in the north, and Mr. James was ordered to limit himself to his professorial duties. In England the temper of the Association was kept at fever heat by constant rumours of plots. The Babington conspiracy was brought to light, and before the end of September the authors of that attempt were put to death. Elizabeth had, as she thought, a case against the Queen of Scots ; in the middle of October a special commission was assembled at Fotheringay, and the verdict was a foregone conclusion ; the commissioners met again at Westminster, to pronounce sentence of death. English Protestants were almost unanimous in desiring to see the sentence carried out ; Elizabeth was in an agony of indecision. At the last moment she tried to induce the officers in charge of Mary to put their captive quietly out of the way, but Sir Amyas Paulet, a stiff Puritan, declined to shed blood without legal warrant. After long delay, the warrant was signed on the 1st February.

James had done what decency required in the way of attempting to save his mother. A King of Scots of the old days would have taken the road to England, but James was now bound to the old enemy by a league of friendship ; he meant to be himself King of England. He wished the ministers to pray for Mary, but the leaders of the Kirk were in sympathy with the brethren in England ; their prayers might be such as the King would not care to hear. On the 3rd February James went to St. Giles, taking with him Adamson, who could be trusted to use language which would not offend the King. They found the pulpit occupied by John Cowper, minister of Perth. At the King's command Mr. John gave way, after warning James that he would have to answer to the Great Judge of the earth for disturbing His minister. While this scene was being enacted, the workmen were preparing the hall at Fotheringay for the last scene of Mary's troubled life ; the 8th February was the day of her death. The Dean of Peterborough, a typical Elizabethan churchman, read some Protestant prayers while the dying woman was engaged in her own devotions. We need not dwell on Elizabeth's wild attempts

to disclaim responsibility for her enemy's death. In Scotland the routine of the King's business and amusements went on much as before.

The Assembly met again in June ; Melville was Moderator, and he brought with him a disciple who was at once accepted as a leader of the Kirk. Robert Bruce, the younger son of a good landed family, had been trained for the bar ; after a severe struggle with himself he had given up his secular career and begun to preach. He now became, without ordination, one of the ministers of Edinburgh. At a later time he was ordained, unwillingly ; he did not wish to admit any doubt as to the validity of his original call to the ministry. We have a volume of his sermons, and can appreciate the qualities which made him, for a time, the chief man in Edinburgh. In language he was more moderate and dignified than Knox or Melville ; in his politics and in the type of his churchmanship Bruce was a man of his age ; his main anxiety was, to keep the King faithful to the godly policy of persecuting Papists. In July the Estates met ; the King was now of age, and the liberties of the Kirk were confirmed. The temporalities of the old Church (what remained of them) were annexed to the Crown ; a decently endowed episcopate, such as the English had retained, was thus rendered impossible.

In February an extraordinary meeting of the Assembly was held ; Bruce was Moderator. It was a time of peril ; the death of the Queen of Scots had startled King Philip out of his dilatory habits ; for some months his resources had been used in preparing the mighty fleet which was to do justice on the heretical Queen of England. There was much conference in Edinburgh as to the treatment of Papists and the enforcement of the penal laws. James was ready with explanations, but his difficulties were greater than his critics would admit. Huntly, the son of that Huntly who had professed himself a Protestant, was an obstinate Catholic ; but the King was not yet strong enough to defy the ' goodman of the North '. Jesuits were active in various quarters, and, when they were caught, the King smuggled them out of the country to save their lives. This laxity gave much offence ; at this Assembly

James Gibson was deprived for saying, in the pulpit, that if the King did not amend, he might, like Jeroboam, be the last of his race. Bruce was warned in a dream because of Gibson, and was not present when sentence was pronounced.

In the defeat of the armada Scotland took no active share. The English seamen did as they pleased with the unwieldy foreign ships, and the Spanish commanders thought it safer to work round through the Pentland Firth than to face the English Channel again. They were scattered, whelmed in the sea, and thrown upon our inhospitable coast; of the men who sailed from Spain only one-third returned to their homes. One incident may be recorded here. James Melville was now minister of Anstruther Wester; on an autumn morning early a bailie of the town came to report that a Spanish ship was in the harbour, not to give but to ask mercy. The minister went down and held some talk with a dignified person, Don Juan Gomez de Medina, once captain over twenty hulks, now a fugitive asking help for his crew. His ship, the *Gran Grifon*, had gone ashore on the Fair Isle, but he had secured the use of a local ship to take him back to some port in the Netherlands. Help was not wanting; the Spanish captain was courteously entertained, and his men were revived with pottage and kail. Don Juan was not ungrateful; long afterwards he came to the aid of a Scottish crew, detained by the authorities of a foreign port, and did his best to obtain their release.

While the fate of the armada was being decided, affairs in the Kirk went their usual course. In July Adamson got into fresh trouble by marrying Huntly to Henrietta Stuart (a daughter of Esmé, Duke of Lennox) without making him sign the Confession. After a time, Huntly signed 'entirely against his wish'. In August the Assembly met again. It was reported that the poor were living without religion or discipline; it was resolved that they should not be relieved unless they resorted to the Kirk and participated in the sacraments.

In February a sermon was preached at St. Paul's Cross in London which caused some commotion in Scotland. Dr. Bancroft, a solid Cambridge divine, discoursed on the verse in which St. John advises us to 'try the spirits'; he spoke

severely of the spirit of innovation, which had led the Scots to reject episcopal authority, and to adopt the Genevan discipline. At a later time Bancroft asked an Edinburgh bookseller to obtain answers to some questions relating to the polity of the Kirk; ultimately he wrote a book, in which the faults of the Presbyterian system were traced from their source in Geneva through Scotland to the Puritan party in the Church of England. His quotations were from Knox, Goodman, and John Davidson, and he relied to some extent on the evidence of Brown, who, as we have seen, had reasons of his own for disliking our discipline. When Bancroft rose to the highest place in his own Church, we shall find him again in hostile relations with the Melvinian Kirk.

In June the Assembly met; John Udall, an English Puritan, preached before the King. Udall was a very learned man; James, who knew something of these matters, thought him the greatest scholar in Europe. On his return to England, he was hurried from one Church court to another; after a few years he died in prison.

Late in October the King sailed for Norway, to bring home his affianced wife, the Princess Anne of Denmark. He relied on the ministers to keep order in his absence, and Mr. Bruce was made a privy councillor. The young Duke of Lennox and Bothwell were governors of the realm, but Bothwell was always a centre of unrest. He confessed his sins publicly in November, and continued to add to the list. It was said that he consulted witches as to the prospects of the King's return. James was married at Opslo (Christiania) on the 23rd November, and spent the winter with his Scandinavian friends, 'drinking and driving ower'. Scotland was peaceful and orderly, in spite of the alarms about Papists. In March the Assembly met; Lord John Hamilton, now the recognized head of his house, professed his devotion to the Kirk, and Lennox gave a similar assurance. On the 1st May the King and his bride landed in state. The new Queen of Scots was a girl of sixteen, fond of amusement and admiration; her Lutheran training had hardly prepared her to profit by the long sermons to which she now had to listen.

In August the Assembly met ; James Melville, the retiring Moderator, discoursed at length on the Discipline ; he spoke bitterly of the ' belly-god bishops ' of England, and made another fierce attack on Adamson. Patrick Galloway, now the King's favourite preacher, was placed in the chair. The King himself made a speech, boasting that his Kirk was the ' sincerest ' in Christendom. Even Geneva, he said, kept Christmas and Easter, for which there was ' no institution ' ; as for the Church of England her service was only ' an evil-said mass in English '. After this harangue there was nothing but loud praising of God and praying for the King ; but the venerable house was perhaps too easily pleased.

Entering into the spirit of the part he was playing, James threw off the unfortunate Adamson. Even the life-rent which the Archbishop had out of the revenues of his see was given to Lennox. Reduced to absolute want, the beaten man applied to his most formidable adversary, and not in vain ; Mr. Andrew subscribed himself and secured help from others. Adamson was tearfully anxious to be released from the sentence of excommunication, but absolution could not be granted without confession. The required document was written in Latin ; the synod of Fife insisted on a more ample recantation in the vulgar tongue. The titular primate was at the mercy of his enemies ; he apologized for his public acts, and accepted the great principle of the parity of ministers. It is a relief to know that the poor man's misery was not prolonged ; he fell into a state of lethargy and died ' senseless as he had lived '.

The sixth James is not a heroic figure in our history, but it is fair to remember the almost hopeless difficulty of his task. He was so ill furnished with men and money that he could only act with the aid of his feudatory nobles, some of whom were Catholics, and, as was only natural, in correspondence with the King of Spain. John Maitland, now Chancellor, advised his master to make terms with the preachers, but what terms can be made with men who claim to speak by direct inspiration ? All the leaders of the Kirk believed that, being God's ambassadors, they were entitled to dictate to the State, and to decide

questions of law and policy. Bruce and Balcanquhal lectured the King from the pulpit; even the wary Pont told him that the judgment of God was in the hand of the ministry. It was more than once suggested that the King should be excommunicated if he failed to satisfy the Kirk. Considering what the civil effects of excommunication were, this was nearly equivalent to the Pope's assertion of the deposing power vested in the Vicar of Christ.

Huntly was at feud with Moray—a young Stewart who had married the Regent Moray's daughter and so come to his father-in-law's title. Huntly had obtained 'letters of fire and sword', nominally to suppress Bothwell; the result was that Moray was beset at his mother's house on a dark February night, and killed. The presbytery of Edinburgh wished Huntly and his friends to be excommunicated; the King asked why they had not excommunicated Bothwell, when he beset Holyrood and put the sovereign in fear for his life. He added that things would not be well until noblemen had a licence to break ministers' heads. This, however, was not his permanent mood; when the Estates met in May, the King had promised to recognize the liberties of the Kirk. In fulfilment of this promise, the Acts of 1584 were repealed; the constitution of the Kirk was sanctioned, and the duties of presbyteries, synods, and assemblies were defined. Lay patrons were to present their candidates to the presbytery, and the presbytery was 'astricted and bound' to admit a qualified presentee. Sayers of Mass, Jesuits, &c., and those who received them were made liable to the penalties of treason. The civil titles of the prelacy were allowed to remain; the King still hoped, by a judicious use of his prerogative, to bring the independence of the ministry within what he considered reasonable limits.

Another Puritan visitor had been spending a quiet time in Scotland, beyond the reach of the Anglican bishops. John Penry, an ardent Welshman, held the dignitaries of his own Church responsible for the backward state of religion among the people; he had taken a considerable share in the publication of the Marprelate Tracts. The English authorities complained of the protection afforded him in Scotland, and Penry

had to leave. Like Udall, he was marked down for punishment, and in the end he was hanged.

By recognizing the Church courts, the Estates had encouraged the ministers to assume general powers of regulation. In October there was trouble at Edinburgh ; the ministers wished to prevent the merchants from trading with Spain. They also objected to the Monday market, because the upland men had to start on Sunday to attend it. Those who resisted this extension of the Kirk's authority were told from the pulpit that they were enemies of religion.

In December there was a fast, and the fruit of this solemn exercise was the discovery of a Papist plot. George Kerr, a brother of Lord Newbattle, was lurking in the Cumbraes, waiting for a ship to take him to Spain ; Andrew Knox, minister at Paisley, got together a party of Glasgow students and other friends ; Kerr was arrested, and in his possession were found blank papers, signed by the Popish Earls ; the blanks were to be filled up with some assurance of willingness to co-operate with King Philip. There was a demand for strong measures against the Catholics, and King James, hastily summoned to Edinburgh, assured the ministers that he would persevere in the ' persecution of that cause ' ; but nothing was done to satisfy Protestant opinion. In April the Assembly met, and asked that Papists should be excluded from office ; they partly pacified the King by condemning ' rash and unreverent ' speeches in the pulpit. In June Kerr escaped from prison. Some said the Queen had interceded for him ; it is certain that Anne was under Catholic influence, and we ought probably to include her among the numerous converts made by the Jesuits. In July, when the Estates met, Bothwell was forfeited ; the Popish Earls were to have another chance.

These delays raised the temper of the Melvilles to boiling point ; in September the synod of Fife excommunicated Huntly, Errol, and Angus, and a number of their adherents. (The Angus who had listened so carefully to James Melville was dead, and the new Earl was a Catholic.) ' Sundry reasons ' were given for this irregular action ; the only reason recorded is, that some of the offenders had been students at St. Andrews,

or had gone through the marriage ceremony in Fife. The King was so indignant that he even asked Lord Hamilton's advice on the question, whether some liberty of conscience might not be allowed to Papists? 'Then are we all gone, then are we all gone, then are we all gone,' was Hamilton's reply. He was not a religious enthusiast, but he had solid reasons for objecting to any measure which would reopen questions relating to the property of the old Church. James had to content himself with republishing the decision of Parliament in a document known as the Act of Abolition. Bruce told the King publicly that his reign would be troublesome and short, unless he withdrew the Act.

Elizabeth sent Lord Zouche (in Scotland he was written down Lord Sough) to protest against the lenity shown to Papists, but the envoy was thought to speak too dictatorially; the Act of Abolition was withdrawn, and things went on as before. In May the Assembly met, and the irregular action of the synod of Fife was ratified. Lord Hume's excommunication was annulled, but the sentence was read by David Lindsay, the Moderator (Andrew Melville) taking no part. On the 30th May the King opened Parliament, and promised strong measures against the rebellious Earls. Commissioners of the Kirk were present, and when the Lords of Articles were chosen Mr. Andrew offered some remarks on the names put forward. The King and the commissioners wrote to the presbytery of Edinburgh, bidding them praise God for the King's good proceedings. John Davidson was not in a praising mood. 'One dead,' he said, 'if it were but to execute Mr. Walter Lindsay for his idolatry, would do more good than all the King's letters, and the commissioners both.'

It was evident that the Catholic party would not submit without a struggle; at the earnest solicitation of the ministers, the young Earl of Argyle was invited to take the field against them. He was beaten at Glenlivet, but when the King himself went north the rebels gave way. James took the Melvilles and other ministers with him, just as Jehu took the Kenite chief Jehonadab into his chariot on a similar occasion. For the moment Huntly and Errol gave up the game, and in the spring

they went into exile. There was some premature exultation in the Kirk over this, but in June, when the Assembly met at Montrose, there was evidently no complete understanding between the King and the ministers, and in August David Black of St. Andrews was summoned to Falkland, to answer for an attack on the memory of the King's mother; there was the usual wrangle about jurisdiction, and Mr. Andrew once more expounded his theory of the two kingdoms.

In October the Chancellor Maitland died. The King took a survey of his financial position, which was far from satisfactory. In January he appointed a committee of eight, known as the Octavians, to assist him in the task of making both ends meet. Of this new body the leading member was Alexander Seton, now Lord President of the Court of Session. This very competent lawyer was a son of Mary's Lord Seton; in his boyhood he had been sent to Rome, to study for the priesthood, but had not taken orders. On his return to Scotland, Seton conformed to the established religion; when challenged, he would take the sacrament 'to the satisfaction of the ministers'; he was always suspected of Catholic sympathies.

Calderwood fixes the beginning of 1596 as the time when the Kirk came to her perfection in doctrine and discipline, so that her beauty was admirable to foreign kirks. The leading men of the Kirk were not under any illusion of this kind. When the Assembly met in March, John Davidson, now minister of Prestonpans, brought up the advice of the presbytery at Haddington—a long paper, probably penned by himself, setting forth the urgent necessity of a general confession. Much time was occupied in setting down the offences of all classes, from the King, who was justly blamed for 'banning and swearing', to the ordinary subject; the sins of the ministry were specially emphasized. In May the synod of Fife repeated this penitential exercise. These large confessions are quoted by hostile critics to prove that, after thirty-six years of the reformed religion, the nation was quite demoralized; but there were, as we can see now, political issues to be decided before the nation could settle down. Scotland was making her way, very slowly, to religious liberty and constitutional

government, and these blessings can only be secured by compromise; Protestants and Catholics, Whigs and believers in prerogative, must learn to live peaceably side by side. But the Scottish intellect, always keen for abstract victory, took a long time to master this lesson.

From the King's point of view the expulsion of the Popish Earls was only an expedient; he meant to have them back, and in August a convention was held at Falkland with that object. Some ministers were in attendance, and Mr. Andrew, after knocking boldly at the door of the council-chamber, addressed the Convention in his accustomed style. As a minister of the Word, he forbade the King to recall the Earls. A few weeks later, commissioners of the Kirk and some 'good brethren' met at Cupar; the Melvilles and two others were deputed to go to Falkland, and it was arranged that their case should be stated by Mr. James, a more politic man than his irrepressible uncle. At the very outset Mr. Andrew took the argument out of his nephew's mouth, and spoke in his usual manner. Holding the King by the sleeve, he reminded him that he was 'God's silly [feeble] vassal', and made him listen once more to the doctrine that there were two crowns and two kingdoms in Scotland. Even if we assume that the doctrine was sound, it is plain that neither the King nor Mr. Andrew could be trusted to delimit the frontiers; James thought himself divinely commissioned to dictate the religion of his subjects, and Mr. Andrew was attempting to dictate the action of government in a matter which any modern community would leave to statesmen and judges. It soon became known that Huntly and Errol were in Scotland; the ministers were determined not to let them remain unless they signed the Confession.

The dispute about the Papist Lords was complicated by fresh troubles about David Black and his sermons. During November, commissioners of the Kirk sat frequently in Edinburgh, drawing up able minutes which led to no result. On Thursday, the 9th December, the King in Council ordered Mr. Black to remove north of the Tay, and remain there; on the following Sunday the Kirk held a fast, but the King would

not observe it, because it was the Queen's birthday. Sir George Home and other courtiers, being jealous of the Octavians, fomented the quarrel. On the 17th the King sat with the Lords of Session at the Tolbooth, while a congregation gathered in the Little Kirk, to hear Mr. Bruce and others on the dangers of the times. A deputation was sent to the King; until they could bring his reply the people waited, and Mr. Cranston read the history of Haman and Mordecai. The citizens were much excited; many put on their steel bonnets and ran to the Tolbooth or the Little Kirk. The King had a rough time on his way back to Holyrood. Next day he rode to Linlithgow, and took steps to withdraw the courts of law from Edinburgh. This threat brought the authorities of the town to a submissive frame of mind; Bruce and Balcanquhal retired to England, and the fruits of victory remained with the King. James had for some time been preparing lists of questions on which he wished to come to an understanding with the Kirk. An Assembly was called, to meet at Perth in February; David Lindsay was placed in the chair by Court influence; there was a large attendance of the northern ministers, many of whom were not in sympathy with the 'popes of Edinburgh'. The King had also secured the support of some ministers who wished to see an end of strife, and were not devoted to the Melvinian ideal; of these the most important was Robert Rollock, first Principal of our Town's College at Edinburgh, and the first Scots divine who distinguished himself as a commentator on Scripture. High Presbyterians thought they disposed of Mr. Rollock by hinting that he would soon be a bishop; his early death put an end to any such hope or fear. In May there was an Assembly at Dundee; Rollock was placed in the chair, and the King's policy of compromise was carried a stage further. The zealous Black was removed from St. Andrews to a country parish. Mr. Andrew appeared, eager for the fray, but, after a heated altercation with the King, he had to leave the town. Some good brethren had been empowered to 'insist in conference' with the Popish Earls; at the end of June Huntly and Errol were reconciled to the Kirk at Aberdeen. To celebrate this painful display the city of Bon Accord provided wine and

sweetmeats, apparently on a too lavish scale. In July peace was so far restored that the Edinburgh ministers were allowed to return to their pulpits.

In December there was a Parliament, and the King addressed himself to the second branch of his scheme—the representation of the spiritual Estate. Some wished the Kirk to be represented in Parliament by commissioners, ministers, or laymen, elected by herself. The nobles proposed that the spiritual lords should be those on whom the King should bestow the title of bishop, abbot, or prior. They wanted the titles, and what remained of the revenues, for their younger sons. The King at first inclined to the Presbyterian solution of the question, but the Melvinian ministers were critical and captious. Even a commissioner, they thought, would soon become a bishop; at the synod of Fife in February this was the prevailing opinion, and John Davidson, who was present, though not a member of the court, spoke in that sense. The controversy was renewed at the Assembly in March; there was some argument on 2 Chronicles xix, a chapter which was supposed to have an important bearing on the question in hand. A minister described by the high Presbyterians as a 'drunken Orkney ass', moved that a vote be taken; it was carried by a majority that the Kirk should have a voice in parliament. Davidson protested as usual; the King called him an Anabaptist, and said he had too much acquaintance with Penry, the Puritan whom the Queen of England had hanged.

Fretted by these disputes, the King went back to the notion that prelates were needed to keep order in the Kirk; he began to think that a parity among ministers was not consistent with monarchical government. This view appears in the two books which James was preparing for the press. The heir-apparent, Prince Henry, was four years old, and would soon be able to assimilate the profound lessons in statecraft which the King felt himself qualified to impart. In September the *True Law of Free Monarchies* was anonymously published; the *Basilicon Doron* was ready in manuscript, but the Melvilles were whetting their knives to fall on it, and the royal author had to exercise caution. In this latter work James applied some strong

language to the English Puritans, but it may have occurred to him that he ought not to make enemies in a country over which he hoped to rule. He explained that when he condemned Puritans he was thinking of the Family of Love—a small sect, rightly or wrongly suspected of laxity in morals.

During these troubled years, Robert Bruce was brought more than once into collision with the King. He had a pension out of the rents of the old abbey at Arbroath, but after the rising in Edinburgh James took steps to withdraw this allowance. Mr. Bruce went to the Court of Session, and the judges upheld his claim, though the King himself was present to overawe the court. The judges admitted that the King, by his absolute power, could forbid them to give judgement, but if they were free to do their duty, the case must go on. It is worth noting that Seton and Lord Newbattle, though probably Catholics, withstood the King and insisted that the Protestant preacher should have his legal rights.

Elizabeth was nearing the end of her long reign ; her minister Lord Burghley and her enemy King Philip had both been carried to the grave. It was becoming almost certain that James would succeed, but small incidents acquired importance in view of the great question to be decided. Scots Catholics suggested that the King should have an agent at Rome, and that Chisholm, Bishop of Vaison in France (a nephew of Mary's Chisholm), might be created a cardinal for this purpose. James was willing to write to some of the cardinals ; he hesitated to address Clement VIII as Holy Father, but a letter in that form was sent in the King's name. It may be that Elphinstone obtained the sign manual by a trick ; this at least was the official version of the incident.

The last year of the century opened peacefully, but there were signs of trouble. In February the young Earl of Gowrie returned to Scotland, accompanied by his brother, Alexander Ruthven. The Earl had studied at foreign Universities ; Beza had a high opinion of him ; many would fain have regarded him as the coming champion of the Kirk. Like his father and grandfather, he was supposed to have paid some attention to the occult arts ; he was said to have claimed that he could make

an adder stand still by pronouncing the Hebrew word for holiness.

In March an Assembly met at Montrose. Elaborate reasons were given for holding that this was not a ' sincere ' Assembly of the Kirk, and there is an element of truth in these protests. In earlier days, the Kirk had sometimes acted unwisely, but always with a genuine belief in the formula she was trying to force on the nation ; King James was only a politician, using the formula when it suited his own policy to do so. So far as their use of Scripture was concerned, there was a close resemblance between the argument of the strict Presbyterians and that of their Papist adversaries. Much importance was attached to those passages of the Old Testament in which the privileges of priests and Levites are described. Founding on these texts, the Romanist divines had argued for a Levitical priesthood in the old Church ; the same texts were now used in making a case for a Levitical ministry.

Tuesday, 5th August, was the day when the King discovered, or said he discovered, that the Ruthven brothers were conspiring against him. Some historians have tried to prove that James himself was plotting to ruin a possible rival, but the evidence makes it probable that these two young men were vaguely discussing plans which might have involved them in a repetition of the raid of Ruthven. There was apparently no thought of murder, but the Earl may have dreamed of exacting some reparation for the death of his father and the ill-treatment of his mother. The plot (if there was a plot) was carried out in a hesitating, unpractical way ; at the critical moment the King was able to call for help, and in the scuffle which ensued both Gowrie and his brother were killed. A few days later, when the King returned to Edinburgh, the court ministers preached the appropriate sermons, complimenting the King on the courage he had displayed, and accepting his report of what happened at Gowrie House. The Edinburgh ministers were unconvinced ; many strict Presbyterians believed that James had invented the conspiracy, in order to ruin the godly house of Ruthven. After a trying interview with the council, the ministers were forbidden to preach and ordered

to leave the town; Mr. Bruce took ship at Queensferry and went to France. James was apt to be fretful when contradicted, and on this occasion his impatience was natural. At any moment Bruce might have been inspired to state publicly that the Ruthvens were martyrs, and thereupon half Edinburgh would have believed the King to be a murderer.

Parliament met in November; the Ruthven brothers were duly forfeited, and it was enacted that all of that name should choose other surnames. Four ministers voted as bishops: David Lindsay became Bishop of Ross, Gledstanes of Caithness, Blackburn of Aberdeen, Alexander Douglas of Moray. According to John Davidson, the century was closing in gloom; he sat at Prestonpans, bewailing 'the horrible crimes and breaches of the walls of our Jerusalem that daily rusheth to the ground so fast'.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SEVENTEENTH CENTURY

It is not easy to keep any continuous record of the King's Popish subjects during this period. There were still many Catholics in Scotland, and Huntly's domains afforded shelter to many 'trafficking Jesuits' and the like. The synod of Fife, always on the battlements of Jerusalem, excommunicated two active emissaries of the old Church—Father Abercromby, who is said to have converted the Queen, and John Hamilton, sometime Vicar of St. Côme at Paris, one of the most fervid of the militant clergy in France. In his quieter moments, Hamilton wrote devotional books, which were valued by the members of his own Church.

The difference between the King and the ministers of Edinburgh was composed, but the Gowrie affair unhappily put an end to Bruce's career as a parish minister. In June 1602 he had an interview with the King at Perth. Mr. Bruce had not accepted the King's narrative; assuming that narrative to be true, he still had to satisfy himself as to the motives of the actors in that unhappy scuffle. Could the King say that he had God before his eyes when he grappled with Alexander Ruthven? 'Neither God nor the devil, but my own defence,' was the King's reply. If, as some historians think possible, the King was speaking the truth, he must have found it hard to bear with Mr. Robert's inquisition. For the rest of his life, Bruce was a minister without a charge, a 'general bishop', as his enemies expressed it, preaching where and when he found it safe to do so, and keeping alive the great tradition of the Melvinian Kirk.

Elizabeth died early in the morning of Thursday, 24th March 1603; by midnight on Saturday Robert Carey rode up to the gate of Holyrood with the news. The political arrangements for James's accession had been completed by Seton,

in conference with Sir Robert Cecil, younger son of the deceased Burghley. Glad to witness a peaceful solution of a long-standing dispute, the English welcomed their new King with acclamation.

When James went to England, he intended that the union of the crowns should be followed by an incorporating union of the kingdoms, but there were jealousies on both sides, and his plans were postponed. He intended also to bring the two national Churches into a closer agreement. Whatever we may think of James's methods, we must admit that the object he had in view was both legitimate and timely. The Churches of England and Scotland have never been so near to each other as they were at this moment. Both were firmly Protestant, and mainly Calvinist in their doctrine, and both had simplified their forms of worship. Each had a service-book of her own, though our Genevan book is by no means equal to the Book of Common Prayer, and the Scots ministers had assumed a liberty in extempore prayer which Elizabeth would never have allowed. Whitgift, the embodiment of strict discipline, lived long enough to crown the King; he died in 1604 and was succeeded by the less rigid Bancroft. On the day before his coronation, the King conferred the archbishopric of Glasgow on John Spottiswood the younger, son of that superintendent of Lothian whom Knox had installed in office. The prelatic Spottiswood was an accomplished, well-meaning man, who thought it useless and wrong to oppose the King's policy. To use a term which was not yet in fashion, he was or was accused of being an Erastian. Erastus was not an Erastian, in the English or Scotch meaning of the term, but he was a convinced opponent of 'the Discipline'—the instrument on which Presbyterians relied to bring all classes of the community under the coercive authority of the Church.

The point on which the King and the Melvinian ministers were always at variance was what Knox called the freedom of assemblies. The King thought the Kirk should meet only with his permission; the preachers claimed the right, derived from the Lord Jesus Christ, to meet as often as the interests of His Church required. This claim would be quite reasonable, if put forward by a Church of the New Testament type—

a society of quiet people, making no demand on the State, except the demand for protection against violence: it is less obviously just when presented by a Kirk, maintained out of public funds, and convinced of her own competence to dictate the domestic and even the foreign policy of government.

The constitutional question was brought to an issue in July 1605. An Assembly, which had already been postponed, was summoned to meet at Aberdeen, but again it was postponed. A small company of ministers attended; when Straiton of Lauriston, who represented the King, intimated the postponement, his statement of fact was roughly denied; John Forbes, a learned and pious man, a brother of the Bishop of Aberdeen, was placed in the chair; the Assembly sat for a little time, discussing its own right to meet, and the house was prorogued to September. According to the King's view of the law, the ministers had incurred the guilt of high treason; Forbes was conveyed to Blackness, and with him went John Welch, minister of Ayr, a militant preacher who had married the youngest daughter of Mr. Knox. In the following January these two, and four other ministers, were put on their trial; James had sent the Earl of Mar, and Sir George Home, now Earl of Dunbar, to manage the case, and every effort was used to obtain a conviction. The counsel retained for the defence were induced to desert their clients, but their place was taken by two younger men, one of whom, Thomas Hope, was just beginning his remarkably successful career at the bar. A majority of the jury found the ministers guilty, and their lives were in the King's mercy; James graciously commuted the sentence to banishment from his dominions: once more a party of exiles took ship for France. The ministers found employment as preachers or as teachers of theology in the Protestant academies; Forbes ultimately settled at Delft, and Mr. Welch is recorded to have preached with acceptance in French. The six traitors thus disposed of, eight other preachers were relegated to outlying places, such as Ireland and Kintyre.

Before the great process had reached its final stage, the two Melvilles and six other ministers were invited or commanded to visit the King in England. In the middle of August they

sailed from Anstruther, and the third week in September found them at Hampton Court. The King had planned an improving course of Anglican sermons for the benefit of his northern guests. Barlow, Bishop of Rochester, discoursed on the antiquity of his order in the Church, and Mr. Andrew wrote a mordant Latin epigram on his argument. Buckeridge, who had been ' brandishing the sword of the Spirit ' against Papists and Puritans at Oxford, expounded the royal supremacy as understood in England. The good Andrews preached on the silver trumpets of Numbers x, from which he drew the lesson that the King ought to convene assemblies of the Church. Dr. King, Dean of Christ Church, attacked the lay eldership in a sermon which started from Solomon's vineyard at Baalhamon. All this produced no effect on the Scottish divines ; they were themselves highly skilled in these methods of exposition, and Mr. Andrew could have dug up the divine right of presbytery at Baalhamon or any other biblical site. On Michaelmas Day there was service in the chapel royal, and Melville wrote another of his epigrams on the furniture of the communion-table.

In Scotland the trial of Forbes and his friends came to its prearranged conclusion ; in England the ministers stayed on, enduring the discomforts of a London winter, but nothing came of the King's ingenious plan. An unhappy attempt was made to quarter the ministers individually on high dignitaries of the Church of England, from whose conversation they might learn wisdom. At a meeting with the English Council, James and his faithful Bancroft being the chief persons present, Mr. Andrew delivered a vehement oration ; carried away by his own eloquence he seized the Archbishop by his lawn sleeves (' Romish rags ', as he called them) and told his Grace that, if he was the author of the book attributed to him, he was a ' capital enemy of the reformed Churches '. After this display, Melville was sent to live with Dr. Overall, the Dean of St. Paul's, but it was not to be expected that this kind of hospitality, unwillingly offered and as unwillingly accepted, would produce any good result. In March the King attempted to revive this characteristic scheme for promoting unity. James Melville and Scott went to Lambeth to complain to

Bancroft; they were courteously received, and the Archbishop admitted that he shared their dislike of the King's plan. Scott wished to begin an argument, on which the hospitable prelate suggested a cup of sack, and held the napkin while his visitors drank. After this the Scots divines were not urged to go to bishops' houses.

Before the end of April the King could not but see that his experiment had failed; he began to think that Mr. Andrew, with his epigrams and his fiery speeches, ought not to be at large. The Presbyterian leader, with his nephew and other friends, was living at the village of Bow, when a messenger arrived from Robert Cecil, now Earl of Salisbury. Mr. Andrew mounted and rode off to Whitehall, while Mr. James, with Scott and Wallace, followed by the river. For the last time Melville spoke his mind to the Council; the King, who was concealed in some place at hand, heard every word that was said. Mr. Andrew was sent to the Tower, and at first his imprisonment was strict; after a time some concessions were made, and friends were allowed to visit him. It is interesting to read that Isaac Casaubon was one of those who took advantage of the opportunity. This distinguished foreign scholar had been brought up in Genevan principles; his own studies had led him to the conclusion that episcopacy was the form of Church government having the best scriptural warrant. As a Protestant and an episcopalian he found a congenial home in the Church of England; he sympathized warmly with the King's efforts to bring Scotland into line. Of the other ministers some returned to their homes, but James Melville was sent to Newcastle; he was free to preach, but was never allowed to re-enter Scotland.

At the Scots Parliament of 1606, the King was declared supreme over all persons and in all causes. This declaration was regarded as a flat contradiction of Melvinian theory, but it may be presented as a simple statement of facts. To say that the King is over all persons is only to say that churchmen as well as laymen must obey the law. And in all causes, that is to say in all disputed matters, the King is *de facto* supreme. Disputes, whether civil or ecclesiastical, are not always settled

by peaceful deliberation: they must, if necessary, be referred to an authority which can enforce its judgment: the King has force at his command, and the Church has not. At this Parliament the bishops rode in their proper place in the procession; an Act was passed, restoring them to their lands and privileges. This apparently adequate provision for the prelacy was in fact illusory; the lands of the old Church were in lay hands; the unlucky bishops had to fight for a bare sustenance with great landowners and highland chiefs, while the Presbyterians denounced them for sitting in silks and satins and imitating the 'belly-god bishops' of England. Gledstanes, though an archbishop, died in debt, and Spottiswood who succeeded him in the primacy was never a rich man. A convention, held for the purpose, started another of the King's experiments; 'constant moderators' of the Presbyteries were appointed; the scheme was completed by enabling the bishops to sit as constant moderators of the provincial synods. They also visited in a general way, assuming to act as commissioners of the Assembly. Mr. David Calderwood, minister of Crailing in Teviotdale, was visited by the Bishop of Orkney, but did not submit to authority. Mr. David was busy collecting materials for vast controversial works, which in our day are more often praised than read; at a later time he established a strong claim on our gratitude by collecting and arranging the documents of the Melvinian Kirk.

In 1608 there was an Assembly at Linlithgow; Dunbar came to manage it, and brought with him two Anglican chaplains, one of whom, Dr. George Abbot, preached before the Assembly, dwelling emphatically on the substantial unity of the two kingdoms in religion. Abbot was indeed a man with whom Scots divines might have found points of agreement: a rigid Calvinist, and a strong opponent of Popery. During his stay in Scotland Dr. George attended the last moments of a notary named Sprot, who was executed at Edinburgh. The dying man made confessions, true or false, which confirmed the King's account of the Gowrie conspiracy, and Abbot spent some time in preparing this valuable material for the press. James did not forget the service thus rendered.

In 1610 the Council set up Courts of High Commission, on the English model, for St. Andrews and Glasgow; the two courts were afterwards thrown into one. There was an Assembly at Glasgow, and again Dunbar, a quiet, able man, represented the King. A sum of 5,000 pounds (Scots) was distributed among the ministers; among Presbyterians this was known as the bribed Assembly. The bishops were still under the Assembly in spiritual matters, as they had been since the convention of Leith, but the King meditated a change in their status. In October Spottiswood and two of his colleagues were in London, and were consecrated bishops. To avoid reopening old questions, neither Canterbury nor York took part in this important ceremony. Andrewes thought the Scots prelates should first be ordained priests, but Bancroft thought this was not necessary. This decision was almost the latest act of Bancroft's primacy; he died on All Souls' Day, and there was much anxiety as to the choice of his successor. Many hoped for Andrewes, and some for Overall, but the King's choice fell on Abbot. James probably thought that by turning his Scots prelates into real bishops he raised them above the Assembly. When the real Assembly was revived, it took its stand on the convention of Leith. We may note in passing that Andrew Melville, after four years of imprisonment, was released from the Tower. The Protestant Academy at Sedan had offered him a chair, and his declining years were spent in teaching. He was probably warned not to take part in Scottish controversies.

Adherents of the old Church were still fairly numerous in Scotland, but they had to work out of sight, to evade the penal laws. They had some little help in money from Rome, where Cardinal Barberini was protector of Scots Catholics; a succession of devoted missionaries—Jesuits, monks, or friars—moved ceaselessly about. The Kirk had as yet done very little for the Gaelic-speaking population, and it is not surprising to learn that in distant glens or islands the people came by hundreds to hear the Word of Life in the form to which their fathers had been accustomed. Many names are mentioned in Catholic books; we may select those of William

Forbes and his brother John, who were kept in the old Church by the influence of their mother, a Gordon. Both became Capuchins (reformed Franciscans) and both were known 'in religion' as Father Archangel. There was a third Father Archangel, George Leslie, born a Protestant, and converted in his student days at Paris. St. Vincent de Paul allowed some of his Lazarist missionaries to go to Scotland. As for the lay Catholics, those who were nobles either went into exile or, if they stayed at home, submitted to a life of expedients, signing the Confession when required, and hearing Mass when they could. Papists in humble station were boycotted, so that they could neither buy nor sell. In the south-west of Scotland there was a remarkable Catholic reaction, led by Gilbert Brown, the aged head of New Abbey. When their abbot was arrested, the country people rose in his defence; he was brought to Edinburgh for trial, but the King smuggled him out of the country, and he spent the brief remainder of his days in exile.

James professed to be keen for the execution of the law, but he disliked the death penalty; as he said to Huntly, he did not wish to see bloody heads round his bed. In one case he insisted on the extreme sentence, evidently because his own title to the crown was, as he imagined, in danger. A Jesuit named John Ogilvie was arrested in Glasgow, brought through to Edinburgh, and subjected to the dreadful torture which consists in depriving the victim of sleep; under this regimen he 'remitted much of his obstinacy'. In his formal interrogation he held his ground boldly. He declined the King's jurisdiction, in religious matters, and pointed out that the 'best ministers' of the Kirk had done the same. He held that the Pope could depose a ruling sovereign, but could not say what would happen if Paul V were to depose King James. The jury found him guilty; he was taken back to Glasgow, and hanged. Next to the King, Spottiswood must bear the blame of these proceedings.

In 1616 there was an Assembly at Aberdeen, Spottiswood taking the chair without election. A confession, drawn up by John Hall and John Adamson (nephew of the unlucky Patrick

Adamson), was presented and approved. This document was strictly Calvinist, but the angry expressions about Rome which had appeared in previous Confessions were left out, and for this reason it did not satisfy the Presbyterian mind. It was ordained that a uniform order of liturgy or divine service be set down to be read in all kirks ; Patrick Galloway and three others were appointed to revise the prayers in Knox's book, which were printed in the psalm-book. It was also resolved that a book of canons (laws of the Church) should be compiled, and a large commission was to meet in December, to receive and revise these important drafts. So far as we know, this larger body never met. It was plain from the outset that the Melvinian party would obstruct the work in hand. They feared that the union of the crowns might be followed by measures which would make Scotland a province of England ; and they still spoke of 'purity' when they meant unlikeness to Rome. Tacitus remarks that it is natural to hate a man when you have done him an injury, and the Protestants had done so many injuries to their Popish neighbours that they lived in constant fear of a reaction.

After fourteen years of comparative wealth and comfort in England, the King revisited his native land. In the middle of May he crossed the Tweed with a vast array of followers. Andrewes was among the bishops who rode with James that day, and somewhere in the procession there was a small figure in clerical garb—Dr. Laud, the new Dean of Gloucester. There is some reason to think that James had noted Laud as a rather dangerous man, likely to press novelties too far. A Parliament was held during the King's stay, and he was allowed to have his own way, except in one point. James wished to have an Act, empowering him to give orders as to the external government of the Church, with the advice of the archbishops and bishops, and a 'competent number' of the ministry. This proposal was stopped by the Lords of the Articles ; the King acquiesced ; all that he meant to do for the Church of Scotland could be done, as he thought, by exercising his prerogative. The royal visit was not a long one, but James was present at a great variety of functions ; he even sat with his Court of

High Commission and helped them to dispose of the persistent Calderwood. The conversation between King and culprit is amusing to read, but the poor minister was deprived of his living and sent to prison. During this visit the Communion was celebrated in the Chapel Royal as in Anglican churches; the King's habitual caution led him to cancel an order he had given for wooden images of apostles and prophets; but the communion-table was placed at the end of the chapel, and on the tapestry behind it the Crucifixion was represented.

What the King wished to do for the Church of Scotland was to secure the adoption of five articles, with a view of further assimilating the practice of the Kirk to that of the Church of England. The five were: (1) Kneeling at the Communion: as to this we have seen that the Presbyterian argument was an inference from a mistaken view of the example set by our Lord and His apostles. (2) Private Communion for the sick: this has never been Presbyterian practice, but is not now regarded as wrong in principle. (3) Private baptism: this in time became a common practice among members of the Presbyterian Church. (4) Confirmation: this valuable ordinance had been rejected chiefly because the children to be confirmed were presented to the bishop. (5) The observance of Christmas, Good Friday, Easter, Ascension Day, and Whit-Sunday: the common objection to this was, that these holy days had 'no institution': no text of Scripture commands us to observe them. James himself had parroted this argument when he was trying to capture the goodwill of the Kirk.

The scheme was skilfully drawn, and the next step was to have it accepted by the Church. In 1618 an Assembly was summoned to meet at Perth, and ministers were warned that, if they did not comply with the King, their stipends, which had recently been improved, might again be curtailed. When the Assembly met, noblemen and officials attended in considerable number; they took the seats at the table, and the ministers had to stand behind. The Articles were put to the vote together, and carried by 86 to 41. Scott, the same Scott who had failed to draw Bancroft into argument, now opposed the whole scheme; he was powerfully assisted by a younger

minister, Alexander Henderson of Leuchars. This very able man had been a student at St. Andrews, and had taught philosophy there ; he had been known as a defender of episcopacy, insomuch that, when he was settled at Leuchars, the Presbyterians barred the church door against him, and he had to enter by a window. By what path we do not exactly know, he had found his way into the Presbyterian camp, and from the date of the Perth Assembly we may regard him as a leader of his party. The arguments used in debate were repeated as usual in pamphlets, and even in books. Calderwood had been compelled to retire to Holland, where he occupied himself in writing a ponderous Latin treatise on the altar of Damascus (see 2 Kings xvi). The King was always sensitive to criticism, and Cathkin, an Edinburgh bookseller, was taken all the way to Greenwich, where he was cross-examined by the King and Dr. Williams. He was even thrown into prison, until Spottiswood intervened to obtain his release.

In February 1619 the Earl of Argyle was declared a traitor, for defection from the true religion. He had married, for his second wife, an English lady, who persuaded him not only to join the old Church, but to offer his services to the King of Spain. After a time he was again declared King James's free liege, but his estates remained in the hands of his son Lord Lorne, a cool but consistent Protestant. At Easter the Edinburgh churches were agitated by opponents of the Articles who refused to kneel at the Communion. In the following year there was trouble about private meetings for prayer and exposition ; the trouble was connected with the presence of an English preacher. In England the Puritans were inclining to the principle of Brownism, the sufficiency of the local congregation. Brownism meant diversity, and the Presbyterian ideal was national uniformity, to be imposed by a powerful Kirk on the King and all his subjects.

At Easter 1621 the disputes about the Communion were renewed ; many protested that they would receive the sacrament ' sitting or not at all '. The Estates met in June, and the meeting was continued as usual ; on the 4th August, ' Black Saturday ', a vote was taken, and the Articles were

ratified by 78 to 51. There was a fire in the Cowgate in the morning, and a thunderstorm in the afternoon: these were regarded as tokens of Divine displeasure. Some ministers were deprived or banished to Orkney for opposing the Articles; one conspicuous victim was Boyd of Trochrig, Principal of Glasgow University; the King probably got rid of him to make a place for John Cameron, whose teaching was in harmony with his majesty's political writings. Cameron made many enemies, and held the place only a short time. Robert Blair could not get on with the Principal, and went to Ireland. Robert Baillie, a promising young man, learned from Cameron that all resistance to the supreme magistrate is unlawful, but he modified this opinion, as the sequel proves.

The bishops of James's creation were, on the whole, a respectable body; some of them established strong claims on the gratitude of the Church. Perhaps the best of them was Patrick Forbes, Bishop of Aberdeen. During the nineteen years of his episcopate his wise and kindly influence was felt in every corner of his diocese. Under his guidance the University of Elphinstone's foundation and the college which the Earl Marischal had placed beside it became a nursery of learned divines and faithful pastors. He was the elder brother of that John Forbes who was condemned and banished for his fidelity to the Melvinian ideal.

Having carried his most important proposals, James was content to let the Church of Scotland have a rest. The draft of a revised prayer-book was sent to the King for revision, and James made a good many improvements, but he did not press the matter. He had promised not to go beyond the Articles, and his critics had often warned him that his grandmother, Mary of Guise, 'never saw good day after she broke her word to the preachers.'

On Sunday, the 27th March 1625, the long reign of King James came to an end, and his son Charles reigned in his stead. The new King was in some ways unlike his father: grave in his manner, irreproachable in his conduct, a devout man, seriously interested in the establishment of religion. He was on the point of marrying Henrietta Maria, a French

princess, and, of course, a Catholic : this union would raise the difficult question, what liberty of worship should be enjoyed by the Queen, her servants, and the Catholics generally ? For the King, no dignified answer was possible ; he had already acted, more than once, in total disregard of his promises. He was not more deceitful than some of his opponents, but he had no gift of leadership, either military or political ; he neither knew, nor cared to know, what was going on in other men's minds.

Like many students of the Reformation, Charles was painfully impressed by the enormous waste of property which that movement had involved. The wealth of the old Church had been used up in enriching a limited number of families, while the churches, the schools, and the public services were all suffering for want of funds. The King set to work in Scotland without delay ; in the October after his accession he launched an Act of Revocation, by which Church property in the hands of laymen was re-annexed to his crown. Teinds (tithes) were included in the terms of the Act, and this attracted some popular support, for the lay tithe-owners were notoriously oppressive in exacting their dues. After three years of inquiry, litigation, and compromise, the King was able to carry through a substantial measure of reform. Lay owners retained the lands in their possession on payment of certain rents to the crown. Tithes were commuted at nine years' purchase, or they were turned into a rent-charge, burdened with the minister's stipend and an annuity to the crown ; the King afterwards parted with his annuity for a lump sum of moderate amount. In this complicated transaction Charles had the benefit of good legal advice. Oliphant, the Lord Advocate, was an old man, past his work, but Thomas Hope, who had defended John Forbes and the other ministers in 1606, was now associated with Oliphant as colleague and successor ; he remained King's advocate for twenty years, though he lived to see two of his sons on the bench. Hope was a pious Presbyterian ; during the troubles now impending he was the confidential adviser of both parties.

The arrangement about land and tithes is described by Gardiner as the one successful action of Charles's reign ; it was

also the beginning of the King's difficulties. Some obvious dangers had been avoided, but the territorial interest was seriously alarmed. Among the names which now become prominent in Scottish politics are those of the Earl of Rothes, head of the great family of Leslie ; Balmerino, who took his lands and his title from the old Cistercian abbey in Fife ; and Loudon, a young Campbell who had married an heiress. When Charles's troubles came to a head these three names were still prominent, and still closely connected.

In matters relating to his two national Churches, Charles relied mainly on the advice of Laud ; in 1628 this active prelate became Bishop of London. Laud had learned from Hooker to value the Catholic usages which the Church of England had retained at the Reformation. His opponents described him as an Arminian and a Papist ; but these epithets were used in a somewhat misleading way. There was, indeed, a reaction against Calvinism in England, and this movement was stimulated rather than checked by the Synod of Dort in 1619 ; the practical English mind was not attracted by the rigid precision of the Dutch divines, or by their cruel persecution of the Arminians. As for Laud and his party, they wished to keep out of current controversies, to get back beyond Arminius and Calvin, to take their theology from the early fathers of the Church. They held the doctrine of predestination, as defined by Augustine. They regarded the Church of Rome as a true Church, but so defaced by error and superstition that reunion was not possible, until Rome should be other than she was. It is unfair to say that Laud made religion to consist in the externals of worship. Ceremonies, as he said, are ' things weak enough in themselves ', but, as he believed, they add strength to religion ; they help in the formation of devout habits. Apart from his ornate services, Laud's life was plain and simple ; his great revenues were strictly husbanded, and generously used. With all his virtues, this bishop was a martinet, fond of making rules, and of enforcing them by penalties which startle and disgust the modern student of his proceedings. He was a little man, with a fussy manner, and this partly accounts for the impression he made on his contemporaries.

Charles was in full sympathy with his father's desire to make the Church of Scotland conform to the Anglican model. He considered the draft of a revised Book of Common Order, but apparently found it inadequate and laid it aside. John Maxwell, an Edinburgh minister, an earnest, scholarly man, went several times to London, to discuss the preparation of a new service-book ; in 1630 James Wedderburn, a Scotsman in Anglican orders, became Bishop of Dunblane and gave what help he could. These younger men were pressing beyond what Spottiswood and the older bishops would have thought prudent. On the Presbyterian side we notice that some of the rising men were, as we should say now, revivalists ; Dickson and Blair believed that an outpouring of the Spirit might be indicated by physical manifestations. In 1630 the Communion at Kirk o' Shotts was attended by a great display of emotion.

A contemporary incident in London may serve to illustrate Laud's pastoral methods. Alexander Leighton, M.D., a Scotsman from the Montrose district, was practising his profession in London, and had married an English wife. After much inquiry he was convinced that bishops were to blame for everything that was wrong in the Church or the community at large. He had written a book, the sub-title of which is *Sion's Plea against the Prelacy*. For this crime he was brought into the Star Chamber, and sentenced to an impossibly heavy fine, and degradation from his orders (he had been ordained at Utrecht), to be followed by branding, mutilation, and imprisonment for life. When the savage sentence was read, Laud pulled off his cap, and thanked God Who had given him the victory over his enemies. So at least Alexander says, and there is nothing improbable in his statement.

With some want of tact, Charles had suggested that he might receive the Scottish crown in England, but in June 1633 he came to receive it at Holyrood. The observances in the Chapel Royal were as in the time of King James. John Guthrie, Bishop of Moray, gave offence by wearing a rochet when he preached before the King. The rochet is a surplice with close-fitting sleeves ; if it be lawful to wear a white gown, this garment is not open to serious objection. At the coronation,

some of the bishops wore copes of cloth of gold ; these may or may not have been in keeping with the simplicity of Christian worship, but they had no sacerdotal importance : a cope is only a kind of cloak. Laud preached on ceremonies ; we have seen that his doctrine on that subject was not far wrong, but his arguments did not reassure the minds of those who were accustomed to the Book of Common Order.

The Estates met, and the King, who presided in person, pressed forward an Act in which a general recognition of his prerogative was combined with a particular provision as to the apparel of churchmen. For the first time in Scottish history there was something like opposition in open Parliament, but the opposition was not formidable, and the Act was passed. An incidental result of the King's visit was that Edinburgh became a city, with a bishop of her own. The first occupant of the see was William Forbes, a good man, whose sermons rivalled those of his Puritan contemporaries in solidity. He was suspected of semi-popery, because he held that the Pope is not Antichrist, and that a Papist may be saved. He died soon after his preferment, and was succeeded by David Lindsay, the aged Bishop of Brechin, who had preached at the coronation. On his return to London the King heard that Dr. Abbot was dead, and Laud became Archbishop of Canterbury. The new primate was approached, probably by some ecclesiastic of the Queen's household, with the offer of a cardinal's hat. But the Catholics, like the Puritans, never understood Laud's position ; he was always, in his own sense of the term, a Protestant, and the offer was declined.

Some of the criticisms on the King's action were embodied in a supplication, drawn up by William Haig. Charles spoke strongly about the supplication, and Haig slipped over to Holland ; the King's wrath fell on Balmerino, who possessed a copy of the document, and had shown it to one or two persons. There was a long trial, and a great display of legal learning ; by eight to seven the jury found Balmerino guilty of treason, but Traquair, a politic nobleman, went to the King and obtained a pardon. This ill-judged prosecution was followed by blunders of a more serious nature. The King now began to prepare

a series of rules and forms, under which the Kirk of Scotland was to be rapidly and steadily assimilated to the English model. His bishops were bound to obey him, and the ministers were bound to obey them ; that was all he sought to know. First came the Book of Canons, in preparing which the King consulted those bishops whom he knew to be in sympathy with himself ; the final revision was by Laud, and the book does credit to his abilities; it is an excellent summary of Church practice. Though it contains nothing that is Popish, some provisions were considered oppressive. Extempore prayer was not to be allowed in public worship. Diocesan synods of the clergy were to be held regularly ; the National Assembly and the lay eldership were ignored. As to the proposed Book of Ordination we can speak only in general terms ; it soon disappeared from view, and no copy has survived. On the whole we may say that Laud had done his part well, but the King took no account of the fact that many of his Scottish subjects were fervidly attached to usages of a different kind.

In January 1635, on the death of Lord Kinnoul, Spottiswood became Chancellor ; as opportunity offered, other bishops were added to the Council and promoted to high office. These appointments excited the jealousy of the nobles, without doing any good to the Church. In May the King formally sanctioned the Canons, but in December they were still being printed in Scotland ; Laud wrote to suggest an additional rule, forbidding Scottish Christians to fast on the Lord's day. Concurrently with this important body of rules, the King had been preparing a service-book, to take the place of the Book of Common Order. Both Charles and Laud would have introduced the Elizabethan book without alteration, but Maxwell had suggested that the book should contain something distinctively Scottish ; on this hint some alterations were made, such as the substitution of ' presbyter ' for the shorter form ' priest '. Finally the King gave Laud a general warrant to ' fit a liturgy ' for the Scots. The draft passed through a number of hands ; it is not always possible to say when and by whom particular changes were made. The King's own contribution was not large ; in appointing saints' days he desired that Scottish saints should be

remembered, especially those of the blood royal; and in the table of lessons he inserted six chapters of the Book of Wisdom and six of Ecclesiasticus. As for Laud, he was freely charged with making 'popish' alterations, but the charge was pressed against him by Puritans who never understood either the man or his opinions. One illustration may be given. At the Elizabethan revision of the Communion Service the Church of England retained the words in which the communicant is invited to receive the bread and wine in remembrance of Christ's death. These words had been used to support the assertion that the Church of England accepted the 'Zwinglian' view of the sacrament. Anxious to exclude this inference, Laud suggested or sanctioned the omission of the words from the Scottish book. The reformed Church of Scotland had begun her career by doing practically the same thing. In the Confession of 1560 we 'utterly damn' the vanity of those who say that the sacrament is a commemoration and nothing more. Laud was pleased with the book, and had it put into Latin, that he might take the opinion of foreign divines upon it.

At the beginning of the service-book was printed the King's order, commanding his Scottish subjects to receive it; this is dated in December 1636, and it was intended to begin the new order at Easter following. Maxwell, now Bishop of Ross, Whitford of Brechin and Wedderburn of Dunblane complied; all three found themselves in trouble, and, before the year was out, the trouble was serious. At Edinburgh there was some delay; Spottiswood and the older bishops thought the King's policy rash; the members of the Privy Council were slow to act, but in June they published a monitory order, to which the penalty of horning (the Scottish form of outlawry) was attached. It is not known how far the disturbances which ensued were planned and organized beforehand, but the men in authority must have known fairly well what was going to happen. On Sunday, 23rd July, the momentous experiment was tried at Edinburgh. In the great kirk of St. Giles, Patrick Henderson read the service from the Book of Common Order. At ten o'clock the handsome folio in which the new book was enshrined was brought to the desk; Dean Hannay stood up to read; a small

clergyman, not named, stood by to take part in the service. At once a riot arose, in which women took the most active part ; stools were thrown, and the small clergyman was buffeted. Spottiswood appealed to the magistrates, and the church was cleared, but the mob broke the windows from outside, and the women waited for David Lindsay, the Bishop of Edinburgh ; the old man regained his house with difficulty. A sympathetic bystander observed that the women were moved, not by malice against the Bishop, but by zeal for the glory of God. In the afternoon soldiers were placed on guard, and the new service was not interrupted.

The Council, and the bishops, dealt with the rioters in an ineffective way ; Laud and the King enjoined firmness, but in the city there was a deadlock ; on one Sunday there was sermon, but no service at all. On the 10th August the bishops ordered their clergy to buy the book ; on the 23rd Henderson and two other Fife ministers asked the Council to suspend the order ; the lay councillors would have suspended it wholly, but at the request of the bishops they held that the ministers were bound to buy the book, not to use it. Encouraged by this success, a multitude of persons came to Edinburgh ; they were known collectively as the supplicants. Petitions were put in hand ; on the 20th September a great petition was presented to the Council ; the King's answer was expected on the 17th October ; when it came it was uncompromising. The supplicants were to leave Edinburgh ; the courts of law were removed to Linlithgow. George Gillespie, a young minister living in the house of the Earl of Cassillis, had written a book, printed abroad, against the English ' popish ' ceremonies ; all copies of this work were to be collected and burned—as good an advertisement as the author could desire. On the 18th the opponents of the English book considered their position, and Henderson indicated that the time had come to attack the bishops. There was some hesitation, but Rothes spoke facetiously and Loudon forcibly on the same side. The nobles, as a class, detested the bishops ; the prelates were occupying lands and offices which ought to go to men of good family. As to the form of their remonstrance, Henderson was conciliatory ; the form drawn up by himself

and Balmerino was laid aside ; the form adopted was the work of Loudon and Dickson. The ' westerns ' were the men to be kept in line, if possible ; Loudon, for example, and his friend Baillie had complied with episcopacy and had submitted to the Perth articles ; they had now discovered that they could not put up with what they called Arminianism and Popery.

On this decisive day numbers of women were gathered to see what would be done. Sydserf, Bishop of Galloway, was seen making his way to the Tolbooth ; he was reported to be wearing a ' crucifix ' (probably a pectoral cross) under his coat, and some of the women wished to make sure ; the bishop was hustled and put in fear of his life. Traquair, who had been Sydserf's pupil, went to the rescue of his instructor ; he also was rolled on the pavement, and his white wand of office was taken away. The women went to visit the Provost, Sir John Hay, a moderate Provost, who might be in need of their advice. Hay was not to be found, and the mob was dispersed by the discharge of a gun, loaded only with powder. Many supplicants remained in town ; the Council could not or would not get rid of them, until, in the middle of November, some timid councillors made an epoch in our history by suggesting that the supplicants might safely go away, if they elected commissioners to protect their interests at head-quarters. The suggestion was accepted ; commissioners were chosen, and from the general body were formed four committees, composed of nobles, gentlemen, ministers, and burgesses. Each committee had its own table in the Parliament Chamber, and collectively they were known as the Tables. Baillie, at the request of his patron, Lord Montgomery, took a seat at the ministers' table, but he found that he and his brethren had nothing to do ; all business of importance went to a Table of last resort, the permanent members of which were Rothes, Loudon, Balmerino, and the ' two archbishops ', Henderson and Dickson. The formation of this provisional cabinet is a remarkable event. In earlier days our country had seen much faction-fighting ; now, for the first time, we see a party, in the modern sense of the word, a party organized for the purpose of taking over the government of the country. They combined this purpose with a sincere respect for the King's

authority ; Henderson was a steady royalist, and there was no republican element in the party.

When we read of the ' westerns ', able, well-meaning men, who were unwilling to turn against episcopacy, we ask naturally, whether any compromise was still possible. Archbishop Ussher, the most learned man of that age, thought it possible to combine episcopacy with presbytery ; there was nothing in the nature of things ecclesiastical to exclude such an idea. If the bishop had been required to act with the advice of the ministry, as Jerome says the primitive bishop did ; if bishops had been disqualified for civil offices ; if a place had been found for laymen in the management of Church affairs—the advantages of the English and Scottish systems might have been combined, and the two Churches might have been one communion. The opportunity was missed, and it has not yet returned.

Traquair, who did not like the service-book, went south to the King, but could obtain no concession ; he was sent north again with a stringent proclamation. On the 14th February he arrived at Dalkeith ; next morning Rothes went out to give a confident report of the success of the Tables. The service-book would have to go ; as for the bishops, his friends would set upon them and hang them ; this he spoke, as we may hope, facetiously. Rothes was a man of ambition, and a man of pleasure, but he now used the current religious phrases fluently. To avoid a public protestation, Traquair thought of reading the proclamation at Stirling ; he and Roxburgh started at 2 a.m. on Monday the 19th ; the opposition had timely warning of this move ; two opposition Lords set off at once for Stirling ; the proclamation was read in presence of a crowd of protesters, a crowd which before nightfall numbered 2,000 men. On Thursday there were similar demonstrations at Edinburgh ; on the following day began a series of meetings and interviews : Henderson was proposing that the party should frame a national Covenant ; the work was entrusted to him and to Archibald Johnston of Warriston, a young advocate who was taking a very active part in the controversy. Warriston's private diary, which has been published, presents us with an interesting type of Calvinistic piety. In early life he had accepted the offer of

salvation, as he found it in the Bible; he lived in familiar relations with the Almighty, ever hopeful, 'aye blithe of bad news' because he thought the moment had come for his God to intervene. Like many of his contemporaries, he would pray, in solitude or in his family, for hours at a time; when he rose from his knees, he was a ruthless partisan, and not always a safe adviser.

By Wednesday, the 28th, the Covenant had been copied on a sheet of parchment; at 2 p.m. the nobles and gentlemen met in the church of Greyfriars; two hours were spent in conference and devotion; at 4 the Earl of Sutherland was the first to sign; he was a young man, but the holder of a very ancient earldom. Others of the great men followed; Montrose put his handsome signature in a conspicuous place. When all or many in the church had added their names, the parchment was placed on a flat tombstone outside, until the sheet was filled up. Such, at least, is the tradition handed down through the ages. The display of emotion was so impressive that it reminded John Livingstone of the Communion at Kirk o' Shotts. Copies were at once carried into all parts of the country; the demonstration at Greyfriars was repeated in many places, and some roughness was used in dealing with dissentients. Ministers who would not sign were buffeted by women, and compelled to stay at home. The Covenant was used as a test, and no trader or professional man could prudently omit to take it. The bishops and some of their supporters found it safer to live out of Scotland; once more the road to England had irresistible attractions for the minority.

When we turn to the Covenant itself, we are tempted to call it a disappointing document. It begins with the negative Confession of 1580, and goes on to enumerate, with tedious accuracy, the penal Acts passed for the suppression of Popery and popish practices. In the concluding passage the covenanters bind themselves to maintain the true religion, and to show themselves worthy of the same in their life and conversation. This part of the document is carefully general in its terms; the various sections of the party had to be kept together. Charles thought the Covenant illegal, but he was not in a position to act. He

was nearing the end of his disastrous attempt to govern England without a Parliament ; he was short of money, and such troops as he had were leavened with the prevailing discontent. He had to negotiate, and for this purpose he chose his intimate friend James, Marquis of Hamilton, great-grandson of the Duke who had taken supper with Mr. Knox. On the 6th June the King's commissioner met the Council at Dalkeith. He brought with him as his chaplain Dr. Balcanquhal, Dean of Rochester, a son of the Presbyterian preacher who had held his own with King James. On the 9th June Hamilton entered Edinburgh, passing through vast crowds of spectators ; on a rising ground stood some hundreds of ministers in their black cloaks ; some speeches were to be made, but the commissioner politely intimated that such honours were ' above his place ', and rode on to Holyrood. It was feared that Balcanquhal would use the service-book in the Chapel Royal ; but the Dean's early training may have enabled him to avoid giving offence. On Sunday Henderson preached before the King's representative, and was admitted to a private conference : he stated the demands of his party, and did his best to excuse the utterances of extreme men, such as Cant and Rutherford. Cant was minister of Pitsligo, where his temper was likely to be chafed by contact with the Aberdeen divines. Samuel Rutherford had begun his ministry at Anwoth in Galloway ; for writing a book about Arminians he had been sent to the Court of High Commission and relegated to Aberdeen, where he lived in his own lodging, went on with his studies, and wrote many of those letters which are still read in some Scottish households. The admirers of his letters do not usually go on to his polemical writings, and it is better so, for this ' fair little man ' preached the loveliness of Christ for thirty years without ever perceiving the unloveliness of intolerance.

Hamilton saw at once that the covenanters were strongly organized ; he was a great landowner, and as such hostile to the bishops. After publishing a somewhat evasive proclamation he went back to the King for instructions. The covenanters took advantage of his absence to send a strong deputation to the north. Aberdeen was the strongest school of divinity in

Scotland, and the able men who held office there were hostile to the Covenant. The expedition led by Henderson, Dickson, and Cant was attended with some success; the written questions which the Aberdeen doctors had ready for them were answered in due scholastic form; a covenanting party was formed in the enemy's country, and the Presbyterian leaders were back in Edinburgh to receive Hamilton, who came again from London with the promise of an Assembly. There was much debate as to the exact terms of the concession now to be made. One of the points on which the King wished to insist was, that laymen were not to vote in choosing ministers to sit in the Assembly; many of the ministers welcomed the proposal, but Henderson held them back; for the nobles were determined to have a 'free' Assembly, that is to say, a meeting of their own partisans who would make short work of the bishops: to this end Rothes and his friends were about to take all elections very firmly in hand. Once more the much-enduring Hamilton had to go south for instructions; he must have been familiar with every mile of the long road to London, a road not yet macadamized. In his absence the Tables sent instructions to local presbyteries, showing how covenanters were to be returned, and how non-covenanters were to be defeated or prevented from seeking election. When Hamilton came north, in the middle of September, he announced an Assembly, to meet at Glasgow in November, and a Parliament at Edinburgh in the following summer. The electoral machine was immediately set in motion; except in the Universities it was hardly possible for any non-covenanter to obtain election. Hamilton asked the Aberdeen doctors to send some of their number to his aid; they answered truly enough, that if an angel from heaven came to speak for episcopacy he would not be heard.

The next piece of work was, to prepare the charges on which the bishops were to be condemned. There were, first, the ecclesiastical charges—holding an unlawful office, introducing innovations, and the like; in a covenanting Assembly these would be easy to prove. There were also charges of misconduct, ranging from incest to Sunday travelling; these were thrown in to make the bishops odious and to produce the impression that

the covenanters were rising in revolt against an intolerable state of things. If such a device were attempted in our day, well-informed persons would come forward to challenge it ; but in the seventeenth century nobody was well informed, in the modern sense of the word. The charges were laid before some presbyteries ; all were included in one comprehensive bill of accusation, which was sent to the presbytery of Edinburgh, and referred to the Assembly. The unproved charges were read from many pulpits. The bishops were scattered, and could not make arrangements for their defence ; some of them prepared reasons for declining the jurisdiction of the Assembly, and this paper was revised by the King.

At an earlier stage of this narrative it was pointed out that the Presbyterian Kirk had no impartial judicature ; of this weakness a striking illustration was now to be given. The Assembly which met in Glasgow on the 21st November was not in any sense a court of justice ; it was a somewhat disorderly party-meeting. On the floor of the great church of St. Mungo was placed a table for the nobles ; on either side were tiers of benches, occupied by the 140 ministers and 95 elders who constituted the Assembly : of the elders, 17 were nobles, 9 knights, 25 lairds, and 42 burgesses ; two professors represented the Universities of Edinburgh and Aberdeen. The lay members had been invited to bring with them ' assessors ' interested in the great question to be decided ; Baillie, though quite a good party man, was much annoyed by the disorder which prevailed. The early sittings were occupied with questions of procedure. Henderson became Moderator, and Warriston, who was in his element, became clerk. When the cases of the bishops were reached, Dr. Robert Hamilton, the minister of Glassford, appeared as procurator for the accused, and gave in the declinature, signed by six of their number. The objections taken to the Assembly were not frivolous ; in a court of law they would have been patiently considered, but the Assembly meant to override them. On the morning of the 28th the Marquis told his colleagues of the Council that he meant to dissolve the house. For a time the debate went on, until at last Henderson proposed to put the question, whether the

members of Assembly found themselves competent to try the bishops. Hamilton explained his own position in an able speech ; before he could leave, Lorne, now Earl of Argyle, asked leave to speak. He was not a member of the house, but he could put some thousands of claymores into the field, and men listened to hear what he would say. Argyle went with his order ; he approved the proceedings of the Assembly, and accepted the Covenanters as honest countrymen. When the royal commissioner had withdrawn, the darkness of a winter afternoon was gathering among the pillars of the great church ; candles were brought in, and the Assembly continued to sit.

Like other revolutionary bodies, this Assembly had to make its own law as it went along. Not content with setting aside the service-book and other innovations, Henderson and his colleagues ' annulled ' the acts of the six Assemblies held from 1606 to 1618. The bishops had accepted an office recognized by Parliament and by the Church courts of their own time. To deprive them of this defence, they were now to be tried under the law of the Melvinian Kirk. As to the mode of trial, there was a committee on charges ; Baillie's admiring narrative makes it plain that no time was wasted in sifting evidence or arguing doubtful points ; any man or woman who had a tale against a bishop was eagerly heard, and instantly believed. In less than a fortnight all the cases were disposed of ; the two archbishops and the twelve bishops were all found guilty. On the 13th December, when the Assembly met, the proceedings were opened, as usual, with prayer and reading of Scripture. The reader chose John xvi, but when he came to the words in which our Lord warns His apostles that they will be put out of the synagogues, he was stopped, and a safer passage was chosen. Henderson preached from Psalm cx, ' The Lord said unto my Lord, Sit thou at my right hand, until I make thine enemies thy footstool.' After sermon he read the sentences. All the bishops were deposed ; the six who signed the declinature were also excommunicated : we must recollect that this, the extreme sentence of the Church, carried with it civil consequences of a serious, not to say atrocious, nature. Aberdeen and Dunblane were joined in the same condemnation as the six ; the rest had

one more chance of submitting to the Kirk ; they were to be excommunicated if they refused

Most of the bishops had already retired to England ; it may be convenient to note here the effects of the Assembly's action, so far as they were concerned. Spottiswood soon died, and was buried in Westminster Abbey. Patrick Lindsay of Glasgow, a man of high character for whom Baillie had expressed the liveliest affection, spent a few troubled years in exile ; he died at York, and was buried at the expense of the governor. Wedderburn died at Canterbury, and was buried in the cathedral there. Sydserf was an exile until the Restoration brought him back to his own country. Whitford obtained a living in England ; Maxwell was sent to Ireland, where he rose to be Archbishop of Tuam, but his life was one of many sorrows. Baillie found some of these refugees living in London ' in great misery and poverty '. John Guthrie of Moray (he who wore the rochet) would neither go nor conform ; he found his way into prison at Edinburgh ; in time he was released, but forbidden to revisit his diocese. Four bishops conformed to presbytery. Our Caroline bishops were, on the whole, a highly creditable body of men ; no serious importance attaches to the farrago of charges dished up at Glasgow.

In some Presbyterian books the work of this Assembly is described as the restoration of the Church to her former purity. It is also, more correctly, described as the second Reformation. As in 1560, the movement was carried through by an alliance between nobles and preachers. This alliance did nothing to enrich the religious life of Scotland, but it helped to determine the course of political events. Englishmen and Scotsmen had grown out of the paternal form of government, of which the *Basilicon Doron* is the manual; the time had come for changes which would compel the King to govern with the advice of his Parliament. In both kingdoms the leaders of opposition relied on the prevailing dislike and fear of Popery. In Scotland the leaders knew that the King would not accept the results of the Glasgow Assembly, but, ever since the signing of the Covenant they had been preparing for civil war. They were at no loss for military advice ; the long agony of the

Thirty Years' War was now in its final stage; the great Gustavus was dead, and many of the Scotsmen who had served under him were attracted by the prospect of employment in their own country. Of these the most notable was Alexander Leslie, field-marshal, who had already invested his pay and prize-money in a comfortable bit of land, not far from his chief, the Earl of Rothes; a marriage between the General's son and one of the Earl's daughters followed on this acquisition. Alexander, though not a supremely great commander, had learned the business of war in a good school; he was in sympathy with the Covenant, and had signed it even before he took his final leave of Queen Christina.

Charles meant to suppress his rebels in the spring, but before he could move the Covenanters took aggressive action. Aberdeen was a stronghold of episcopalian opinions, and it was not certain what part Huntly would take in the struggle. Leslie and Montrose were sent to the north with a considerable force. By a breach of faith, Montrose took Huntly and his eldest son, and carried them prisoners to Edinburgh; he then returned to the north, and by the end of May he was master of Aberdeen. In the not very important engagements of this campaign, the first blood of the civil war was drawn. Meantime the King had left London: at the beginning of June his army lay on the English side of the Tweed, while Leslie faced him with a well-appointed Covenanting army, strongly encamped on Dunse Law. For the moment war was averted; negotiators met in Lord Arundel's tent to settle terms of peace; Rothes and Henderson were among those who stated the Presbyterian demand; the King himself came in quietly and took a seat at the table. The Scots commissioners were pleased with the King's dignity and moderation; Charles disliked Rothes, a talkative man, and formed a good opinion of Henderson. Yet Rothes was looking forward to high office under the King; Henderson stood for uniformity in religion, the principle which ultimately brought Charles to the block, and made Scotland a province of republican England. For the moment the Covenanters were satisfied; Leslie's army was disbanded, but he knew where to find his men if they should be needed again.

Parliament met, as the King had promised, in May; this was the first meeting in the hall still known as the Parliament House; the spiritual Estate was not represented. After adjourning many times, the Parliament stood over till the following year. The Assembly met at Edinburgh in August; Traquair, who represented the King, wished Henderson to preside, but the disputation about 'constant moderators' was fresh in Presbyterian memory; Dickson was placed in the chair, and Henderson sat beside him. The decrees of Glasgow were confirmed as a matter of course; Henderson spoke bitterly against the bishops, and assumed that the moral charges against them had been proved. The Assembly also ratified the action of certain committees, which had been busy in getting rid of ministers who opposed the Covenant. Since the Glasgow Assembly more ministers had been deprived than during the whole of Spottiswood's long primacy. These changes were received with solemn joy by the surviving exponents of Melvinian principles; one aged minister spoke with tears of the time when the Kirk 'had a beautiful face'; the austere beauty of the Melvinian system was now restored. Just at this moment we have to notice the first outbreak of a controversy which divided and ultimately thwarted the Puritan movement. This Assembly was divided, in the moment of victory, by the question of private meetings. Religious people were beginning to find edification in small gatherings, at which the Word was expounded by gifted persons, not always trained ministers. Dickson and Blair would have let the work alone, but Henderson spoke earnestly against it. Meetings, he thought, had been useful in the time of the bishops; now that the Church was blessed with 'peace and purity' they were superfluous. For the moment he carried his point, but the struggle between Presbyterianism and Brownism was not over.

When Charles marched north to meet the Covenanters he had published a declaration containing the substance of his charges against them. This had now been expanded into a volume, known as the Large Declaration, compiled by the worthy Balcanquhal. From the historian's point of view, the book is of some importance; it is a careful statement of the

King's case, founded throughout on documents which are quoted in full. The Assembly now discussed it, with the resentment which good party men display when anything effective is written by an opponent. Mr. Cant suggested that the author should be hanged, but Dickson reminded him that this punishment did not belong to kirkmen.

When the Assembly was over, and the Parliament postponed, Loudon and Dunfermline went to London, but the King refused to see them. Loudon went south again in the spring ; the King was just about to meet his English Parliament ; he hoped that the conduct of the Scots would induce his more obedient subjects to grant him a supply of money, and there was one item of evidence on which he confidently relied. In February 1639 the covenanting nobles had addressed a letter to the King of France, asking him to mediate between their own King and themselves. Cardinal Richelieu, bent on restricting the power of the Catholic house of Austria, had allied himself with Swedish and German Protestants ; he might be willing to revive the old alliance with Scotland. The King had a copy of the letter which had been signed by all the leaders of the movement ; when Loudon appeared in London he was sent to the Tower ; the King threatened to behead him without trial as a manifest traitor. Loudon remained in prison till near the end of June. Before his release the English Parliament had met and been dissolved. The Estates of Scotland met in June ; Robert Balfour, Lord Burleigh, an adherent of Argyle's, was placed in the chair ; the old problem of the three Estates was roughly solved by allowing the lesser barons (lairds) to rank as a branch of the Legislature ; there was no spiritual Estate. The main object of this Parliament was to legalize the measures which Rothes and his friends had taken to impose the Covenant as a test upon all and sundry. These measures had to be completed by a special session of the Assembly at Aberdeen in July, for the Covenanting divines were eager to destroy the best-equipped school of theology in Scotland. One by one the men who had held their own in argument with Henderson and Cant were stringently dealt with. A special interest attaches to the case of Dr. John Forbes, a son of the good bishop

who had gone to his rest not long before. Dr. John was found free of Popery and Arminianism, but he declined the Covenant ; he was ordered to confer with Rutherford at St. Andrews ; if he failed to give satisfaction, he was to be deposed. The same day, being alone in the field, he fell on his face and thanked God for having delivered his soul in peace. At this Assembly the question of private meetings was pressed by Henry Guthrie, minister of Stirling : he was an enemy of meetings, and thought the magistrates should deal with them. This divine was ultimately a bishop ; he probably perceived that the question was one which divided the Presbyterian party.

While Loudon was in the Tower he had done his best to persuade the King of his loyalty ; he had also given some help in maintaining a close correspondence between the Puritan malcontents in England and the Covenanters in Scotland. Leslie's army was the most efficient body of troops in the three kingdoms, and the English parliamentary leaders wished to have the use of it. Scotland was too poor to engage in military adventures, but some Englishmen were willing to pay for the assistance they required. Financial details are beyond the scope of this narrative, but it is necessary to note that for some years the English Commons were unwillingly voting large sums for the Scots. Royalists very soon began to point out that the King's taxation, if irregular, had been comparatively moderate ; now they were to be heavily taxed to persuade a ' foreign contemned nation ' to invade their country. As for the religious question, there was no certainty that English and Scots would be able to pull the same way. Pym was still anxiously explaining that he and his friends did not wish to dispense with episcopacy, or to lay aside the Book of Common Prayer. Still, there were many Englishmen who did propose to make an end of bishops and ceremonies, and the presence of a Scots army might enable them to have their way. The Puritan stream was running strong in England, but, as we can see now, it was running in two channels. Cartwright of Cambridge and his successors had imbued the minds of many thoughtful men with notions which had their source in Geneva. They wished to remain in the national Church, and to reform

it on Presbyterian lines. Brown and *his* successors had taught that the Church of England was of the world, and lay in the Wicked One ; their aim was to gather true believers into small communities, independent of all established authority. Neither section had any reasoned belief in liberty of conscience, as we now understand it. Here and there an independent minister had argued for a liberty which even Papists and Jews might share ; but the average independent thought the State should encourage gospel preaching, and suppress those forms of error which were obviously dangerous.

Before the end of August Leslie invaded England ; Montrose was the first man to cross the Tweed. A small success at Newburn raised the hopes of the Scots army, and gave Zachary Boyd an excuse for one of his absurd poems. Leslie was soon quartered at Newcastle, and Henderson preached before the general there ; some critics said he ' boasted too much ', and indeed, if Henderson could have foreseen what the next ten years were to bring, he would not have been in an exultant mood.

The King was hard pressed on all sides ; he had promised to meet his English Parliament in November ; he had to make terms with the Scots. Commissioners met at Ripon in October, and the King, very unwisely, transferred the negotiations to London. Early in November the Scots commissioners took the road ; with them went a party of ministers, carefully chosen to deal with any form of error which they might encounter in the south. Henderson, of course, was one ; Blair was an expert on the divine right of presbytery ; George Gillespie would cry down ceremonies. Baillie, now a professor of divinity, was good at answering Arminians, and his outspoken letters enable us to follow the experiences of the Scots visitors from day to day. On their arrival the commissioners went into rather narrow lodgings, but the city of London, more Presbyterian than any other part of England, insisted on receiving them as guests ; they were lodged in the house attached to St. Antholin's (Anthony's) Church. Sunday or week-day, the citizens and their wives came in crowds to hear the preachers from the north ; gentlemen from court looked in, and took home

accounts of the ' barbarous discourses ' they had heard, but the presence of the Scots divines did something to strengthen the Presbyterian cause. Both London and Westminster were in a state of unrest ; the Parliament which came to be known as the Long Parliament was sitting, and the Commons were determined to execute ' justice ' on the King's chief advisers. Strafford was impeached and sent to the Tower ; the Scots commissioners helped to draw up the charges against him, and Baillie indicates that they believed all the stories, true or false, which were being passed round among his enemies. ' When we get his head ', the good professor wrote, ' all things will run smooth.' Strafford's mistakes, however serious we think them, were political, not criminal, in their nature; in modern practice they would be punished by exclusion from office, or possibly by a new term of power. But the impeachment had to take its course, and when it failed, the Commons, like the Glasgow Assembly, brought the legislative to the aid of the judicial power. A bill of attainder was introduced and passed ; the King accepted it, and sealed his own fate by doing so. Laud's case could wait, but in December he too had been impeached, and in March he too was sent to the Tower. On the 12th May the Archbishop stood at his prison window to see Strafford pass on his way to the scaffold. Laud lifted his hands to bless his friend, and fell back fainting into the arms of his attendants.

While these events were in progress the negotiations begun at Ripon were dragging slowly along. To the seven demands presented by the Scots an eighth had been added ; uniformity in religion was now put forward as a necessary feature of any permanent settlement between the King and his subjects. In February Mr. Cromwell, the member for Cambridge town, wrote for a copy of the Reasons advanced by the Scots commissioners in support of this article. His inquiry was apparently not dictated by suspicion ; at this stage men like Cromwell and Milton were disposed to think that a Presbyterian settlement might be the best solution of the ecclesiastical problem : they did not remain very long in that opinion. In June the Scots divines returned to their own country ; Baillie went by sea, was nearly wrecked at Holy Island, and resolved that, if

he could go by land, he would not sail that coast again. In July the General Assembly sat at St. Andrews ; the meeting was transferred to Edinburgh, where the Estates were also in session. Henderson carried a proposal for a revision of the standards : if they had a new Confession, suitable Catechisms, and a Directory of public worship, their system would be before the world in a form which England might adopt. (Ireland, of course, would have to adopt what the other kingdoms thought right.)

Charles in his turn was going to make a bid for the use of the Scots army. He arrived on Saturday, the 14th August ; next day he heard sermon in the morning, and played golf in the afternoon, but, on a word from Henderson, he promised to observe the Lord's day more strictly. When he met the Estates he made no attempt to control their action ; he accepted the Covenant and the Glasgow Assembly, and everything that was proposed to him. This complete surrender was the occasion for a lavish distribution of honours among the Covenanting leaders. Argyle became a Marquis ; Loudon was Lord Chancellor, with a pension ; Alexander Leslie was Earl of Leven ; Warriston a knight and a lord of session. Henderson had the rents of the Chapel Royal, ' a morsel for a bishop '. Rothes did not live to share the triumph of his friends ; a sharp attack of fever carried him off, just when he had planned to marry a great lady and to secure a high appointment at court. Soon after the middle of November the King went south again, but before he left he had to inform the Estates of a terrible event : the Irish tribes had ' leapen out ' in rebellion ; many Papists had joined the movement ; post after post brought news of the atrocities committed by the rebels. These horrors were the natural result of a long period of misgovernment. For centuries the kings of England and Scotland had prided themselves on including the Celtic inhabitants of these islands within the ambit of their power, but no persevering effort had been made to bring them within the pale of civilized law. In the civil war both sides made what use they could of the tribes and clans. Argyle's highlanders, with their plaids and sheaves of arrows, had excited the wonder of English visitors to the

camp at Dunse Law, and when Leslie invaded England, Argyle himself was raiding about among the enemies of the Covenant ; it was then that he burned the bonny house of Airlie. On the other side the King had embodied an Irish army to make him master of Great Britain.

During the early months of the next year Scots troops in English pay were engaged in restoring order among the Irish. War between the King and his English Parliament was not far off. When the Assembly met at St. Andrews in July, Dunfermline represented the King ; Robert Douglas, a notable preacher, was placed in the chair. A letter was read from the two houses of the English Parliament ; they indicated that they were proceeding steadily towards uniformity on the Scots model. The Assembly's answer was entrusted to Lord Maitland, eldest son of the Earl of Lauderdale, a scholarly young man of whom Baillie expected great things. This Assembly discussed the thorny question of patronage, and Argyle gave his opinion on that point. He thought the demands of the ministers were a disproportionate burden on land, and offered to give up his rights of patronage, if the ministers would seek no further augmentation of their stipends. As at previous Assemblies, Henderson was the guide and spokesman of his party, but his leadership was not unquestioned ; his caution had offended the extreme men, and his influence over the King was regarded with jealousy. The impending troubles brought him forward again as the most important man in Scotland.

In the last week of August, war between the King and his English Parliament was formally declared ; both belligerents had an eye on the Scottish army ; the Covenanters were inclined to side with the Lords and Commons, but only if the English Puritans would accept uniformity on the Melvinian model. Henderson, an ardent royalist, was still working for peace. He suggested that Henrietta Maria, who was abroad, should return by way of Scotland and mediate between Charles and his subjects ; she was even to be guaranteed in the exercise of her religion ; but nothing came of this proposal. At the end of February the Council and the Commission of Assembly sent Henderson to treat with the King at Oxford ; a Parliament

in Scotland might, it was thought, do something to restore the peace, but the King would not listen. During his stay at Oxford, Henderson was invited to take part in an academic disputation, but he declined. Clarendon charges him with discourtesy, but the Scots divine probably felt that he could not expect a friendly hearing in Laud's University. In May he was back in Scotland, and was almost immediately entrusted with another difficult mission. The Covenanters were bent on securing the services of Montrose; they were ready to pay his debts, and to offer him a high command. He agreed to meet Henderson at Stirling; the Earl and the minister walked up and down beside the Forth, and discussed the matter at some length, but in the end they parted, and each went his own way. Montrose was a Presbyterian; he did not repent having acted against the bishops, but he saw that Henderson and his friends were joining hands with an English faction who would ultimately bring the King to ruin if they could.

The Parliamentary leaders in England were not of one mind in religion, but they were losing steadily in their struggle with the King, and they were prepared to pay the price for a Scots army. In June the Lords and Commons passed an ordinance convening an Assembly at Westminster, to consist of 30 laymen and 120 divines. In drawing up the list of names they took care to give the Presbyterians an irresistible voting majority. A few episcopalians were included, but these were mostly got rid of before the Assembly had been long in session. Independency—not yet an organized denomination, but a form of opinion to which many adhered—was fairly well represented. Of the brethren who held that opinion there were five who sat and acted together; their speeches made it evident that uniformity was not to be regarded as a foregone conclusion. Ussher was asked to be a member, but the Archbishop replied by preaching against the Assembly. His plan of a modified episcopacy had been definitely refused by the contending divines of all parties, but the articles he had drawn up for the Church of Ireland were the basis of the Confession adopted at Westminster. When Ussher was asked to join the Westminster Assembly, Selden said it was like asking Inigo Jones

to join the company of mouse-trap makers—but Selden was not an admirer of the Scots discipline.

Our own Assembly met at Edinburgh in the beginning of August; the aged Hope was high commissioner, the only commoner who has occupied that position. Henderson was the only possible Moderator, for an English deputation had come to settle the terms of the armed alliance between the Scottish Estates, now sitting concurrently with the Assembly, and the two houses in England. Of the members of the southern Parliament, the best known was Sir Henry Vane, a young man who had served the State with distinction, in America and at home. Both in politics and in religion he was a bold speculative reasoner; he was certainly not a Presbyterian. With the Parliament-men came two ministers—Stephen Marshall, an eloquent Presbyterian, and Philip Nye, one of the five dissenting brethren in the Westminster Assembly. Vane's object was to obtain the services of Leven and his army by entering into a civil league; he soon found that such a league would not be accepted unless in conjunction with a religious covenant. Henderson drafted the Solemn League and Covenant, a better example of his style than the polemical covenant of 1638. There was some fencing with the English as to the terms of the document; in its final form it contains all that the Scots could fairly claim. The Scottish ecclesiastical system was to be preserved; the English system was to be reformed 'according to the Word of God and the example of the best reformed Churches'. These preliminaries being achieved, the Church of Scotland hoped that the three kingdoms would live in peace and amity, each under her own reformed Church, while condign punishment should be meted out to incendiaries, malignants, and all enemies of the 'true religion'. Under the term 'malignants' Papists and episcopalians were now included: these evil men were supposed to be the *ecclesia malignantium* of Psalm xxvi. 5. The Kirk of Scotland received the new covenant with tears of joy, and proceeded to choose those of her members who were to represent her at Westminster: to name only those who were able to go, the ministers chosen were Henderson, Baillie, Rutherford, and George Gillespie; the lay elders,

Lord Maitland and Lord Warriston. At the convention of the Estates, the civil league with the English Parliament was duly accepted, and the pecuniary part of the bargain was made definite and binding. Leven had the satisfaction of knowing that he would not have to start until his military chest was filled with English money.

Henderson, Gillespie, and Maitland went south at once, and on the 25th September the Solemn League and Covenant was signed by many members of Parliament in the Church of St. Margaret at Westminster. Mr. White prayed for an hour ; Nye delivered a long exhortation, and pointed out that ' the example of the best reformed Churches' might, or might not, turn out to be the example of Scotland ; Henderson made an impressive speech. There was less emotion than there had been at the Scottish Assembly ; many English Puritans were not at all enamoured of uniformity on the Scots model. The Westminster divines were sitting daily, and they had begun to revise the Thirty-nine Articles, but in October they were ordered to lay this task aside, and to begin preparing the forms of Church government and worship which were to take the place of the episcopacy and the Book of Common Prayer. In November Baillie and Rutherford joined their colleagues ; the Lords and Commons gave permission for the Scottish delegates to attend at Westminster. They were courteously received by Dr. Twiss, who sat in the chair as prolocutor, but in joining the Assembly they took care to preserve their status as delegates of a self-governing Church. They sat on committees, and they had their full share of authority and consideration. Baillie perceived at once that the English divines, though individually worthy of respect, were, as he expressed it, ' no proper Assembly ' ; they were, in fact, a committee of experts, chosen by the Lords and Commons, empowered to discuss the matters referred to them ' and no other ', and sharply checked when they went beyond their commission. The increasing activity of sects and sectaries out of doors was another sign of the times. In January things began to look a little brighter. Leven crossed the Tweed, on the ice ; the advance of his army would, as Baillie hoped, ' much assist our arguments '.

In the long debates about Church government, the five dissenting brethren found their opportunity. They were not divided from their colleagues in point of doctrine, nor were they, as we should say, voluntaries; they assumed that the State should support gospel preaching and suppress error. But they were not attracted by the Presbyterian system as developed in Scotland. Some of them doubted the lawfulness of the lay eldership: was it right to take the power of admission and excommunication out of the hands of the congregation, and to give it over to office-bearers? In February Nye spoke powerfully, on two consecutive days, against the Scottish notion that a powerful Assembly is the crown and safeguard of an evangelical Church. A Church court of national importance would, as he contended, 'set State against State'; it would involve the Church in the competition for political power. Henderson was so perturbed by this attack that he compared the speaker to Sanballat and Tobiah.

While the divines went on arguing, the armies of the Parliament were converging on York, the King's head-quarters in the North. Leven and Fairfax joined forces there; Manchester was coming up from the eastern counties, and in the body of troops he commanded the questions debated at Westminster were being argued by men under arms; Manchester himself, 'a sweet meek man', could not keep the peace between his two chief officers, Lawrence Crawford, of the Jordanhill family, a rigid Presbyterian, and Oliver Cromwell, now the hope and stay of all such as wished to obtain toleration for the Protestant sects. When Crawford dismissed an Anabaptist colonel, Cromwell protested; why, he asked, should an Anabaptist be debarred from serving the public? He did not love the Scots, and said he would draw his sword against them as readily as against any in the King's army. Even the Westminster divines did not command his approval; he thought they were trying to persecute better men than themselves.

On the 2nd July a great battle was fought on Marston Moor, and the King's forces were defeated. The chief commanders of the victorious army had little of the glory; old Leven

galloped all the way to Leeds before he found out that his own side had won. Harrison was sent to London to explain that Cromwell and his Independents had saved the day ; the Scots divines were sceptical ; they thought David Leslie should have credit for the victory. The army, soon to be remodelled by Cromwell and his partisans, was becoming a school of extreme opinions. Vane had visited the camp, to sound the military leaders as to his political schemes, which now included the deposition of the King. In London there were private conferences, to discuss the expediency of impeaching Cromwell as an incendiary : he was perhaps an incendiary, within the meaning of the Solemn League. Henderson, quite consistently, supported the proposal ; Baillie had his doubts : he thought a rupture with the Independents would be dangerous. After deliberation the project was not carried out ; when it was dropped the movement towards uniformity was practically at an end.

In spite of these perplexities the Westminster Assembly passed a laborious and partially successful year. The Directory of Public Worship, drafted by Henderson, was finished and accepted. To understand this document we must bear in mind that most English Puritans were hostile to rules and set forms ; they would not even be tied to any particular version of the Psalms. So far as Scotland was concerned, the Directory was only a stage in the process by which the Kirk was committed to the somewhat inadequate form of service with which we are familiar. It is a form which leaves perhaps too much to the discretion of the minister ; he chooses the psalms to be sung and the passages to be read ; prays in his own words ; and expounds any text or passage which he thinks appropriate. One has to live under both systems to perceive how the Anglican lectionary and Psalter enable the congregation to travel over the great facts and doctrines of their creed in a regular order. No Scots Presbyterian would be content with a system which forbids extempore prayer ; on this point it would still be difficult to arrive at agreement.

The Form of Church Government is another compromise. The powers of assemblies, congregational, synodical, and

national, were amply indicated ; but in agreeing to this part of the form the English divines must have felt that they were proposing a system which their own Parliament would probably not sanction.

In the autumn of the year Montrose began his astonishing series of victories. At every crisis of the civil war both sides appealed with confidence to the God of battles ; thus, if we listen to the Rev. Mr. Wishart, he will tell us how, after the defeat on Marston Moor, Montrose made his way into Scotland, guided by the angel of the Lord. Wandering and praying in Methven woods, the royalist hero learned that Alaster Macdonald or Macdonell had arrived from Ireland with a small force of Gaelic-speaking men ; under the hand of a man of genius this little army became irresistible. On Sunday the 1st September, one Carmichael preached to the covenanting army and promised them a certain victory ; the same afternoon it was reported that a man might have walked on their dead bodies from Tippermuir to the gates of Perth. For about a year Montrose carried all before him ; the ' horrid butcheries ' attributed to him were simply the heavy losses inflicted on lowland armies by an enemy who neither gave nor expected quarter.

Since the death of Strafford, Laud had lain prisoner in the Tower, but when the Westminster Assembly began to sit the charges against the Archbishop were revived ; he was brought to trial in March, and the impeachment was pressed without any regard to the ordinary rules of justice and decorum. In his day of power Laud had often been oppressive and overbearing, but we cannot refuse our sympathy to the obstinate old man, kept standing at the bar through the long hours of every day, and meeting with composure the resources of Puritan oppression and chicane. In his case, as in Strafford's, the impeachment broke down ; the Commons brought in an ordinance of attainder, and used the London mob to frighten the Lords into agreement. The end came with the opening of the new year ; on the 4th January the ordinance was passed, and on the 10th the Archbishop was beheaded on Tower-hill. A Puritan member of Parliament was on the scaffold, ready to

pose the dying man with questions as to his hope of salvation ; Laud died, as he had lived, in the ' Protestant Church of England '.

At the end of January Henderson went to Uxbridge, where there was another fruitless endeavour to come to terms with the King ; the ecclesiastical question being inevitably and inextricably entangled with the political issue. It was assumed on both sides that either episcopacy or presbytery must have an explicit divine command to justify its claims. Lord Hertford, a thoughtful, scholarly man, suggested that no system of Church government was *divini iuris* ; this is an opinion to which many Englishmen have inclined. The arguments of the negotiators were of less immediate interest than the efforts of Cromwell and his friends to remodel the army of the English Parliament. On the 14th June the new-model army inflicted a crushing defeat on the King at Naseby, and Cromwell, under whatever title, became the first man in England. He was not as yet committed to extreme courses, but the English Presbyterians clung to the notion that their system was dominant ; they ' abhorred and detested ' toleration of the sects ; in this course of action they were supported by the Scots divines, and especially by Rutherford, whose pen, during these critical years, was constantly busy. He had been one of those who deprecated severity in dealing with ' private meetings ' ; if the sectaries had all been steady Calvinists he might have let them alone ; but the English sects were numerous and various ; every pious trooper carried a Bible in his boot, and interpreted it for himself. Uniformity was still the Presbyterian ideal, and Cromwell was driven back on his military supporters, who waxed bold when they saw that they were no longer dependent on their Scots mercenaries.

A month after Naseby the Westminster divines went resolutely to work on the Confession of Faith. In a compendious narrative it is not possible even to enumerate the questions which had to be taken up and solemnly debated. Suffice it to say that the divines prepared a summary, in admirable language, of the doctrine of the reformed Churches ; avoiding the pedantry of Dort, they presented that doctrine in

its classic form ; experts tell us that every statement in our Confession can be traced either to Calvin or to Peter Martyr, the able Florentine whom Cranmer brought to Oxford in the first year of Edward VI. This great task occupied the Westminister Assembly for about a year and a half.

In August Montrose won the last of an unbroken series of victories at Kilsyth ; his aim was to occupy the lowlands for the King, but his little army was melting away ; on the 5th September, when he lay encamped at Philiphaugh, his position was one of great danger. David Leslie, detached from the Scots army in England, attacked at daybreak, and the royalists were scattered before him. Montrose himself escaped, but failure and sorrow were his portion ; he could not raise forces for the King ; he lost his wife and his brother-in-law, Lord Napier. The Covenanters followed up their victory with a series of massacres. Men who had been granted quarter were put to death ; a large body of Irish were slaughtered in the courtyard of Newark Castle in Yarrow ; the women and children shared the fate of the men. David Leslie must bear his own share of the infamy, but it is hardly fair to discriminate ; these atrocities were the fruit of a principle held by politicians and divines of all parties—the principle that the civil authorities should use the sword to remove enemies of the religion which they accepted as true. Now that the King was almost out of the field the Estates were in authority ; the Assembly had stimulated them to action by demanding execution on malignants ; Cant and Blair were preaching in the same sense. After the general massacres the malignant leaders were dealt with as individuals ; of these the best known was Sir Robert Spottiswood, who suffered in January.

Charles at Oxford spent a doleful winter, turning to Papists, Presbyterians, and Independents, and finding no help in any of the factions. In the last week of April he rode out of Oxford, and, after some undecided movements, made straight for the Scots camp before Newark-upon-Trent. Leven held up his hands in real or affected dismay when he heard the King was in camp, but he posted a guard of honour in proper form. When Newark surrendered the King was brought north to

Newcastle. Cant preached before him there, and caused some flutter by addressing his majesty as 'Thou piece of clay'. Cant was a fervid royalist, but he was the ambassador of a higher kingdom than that of Charles, and spoke, as he conceived, accordingly. The nobles in camp were eager to place the Scots army at the King's disposal, but he must first accept the Covenant; in other words, he could have his royal power again, if he would use it to further the movement for Presbyterian uniformity. To gain time Charles professed his willingness to hear argument; he would like to discuss the matter with Henderson. The Presbyterian leader left the long debate on the Confession of Faith; he was probably not sorry to leave, for his health was breaking up, and a man of his ability must have seen that uniformity was as far off as ever. Between May and August the King and the divine were in close correspondence. Presbyterian writers copy from one another the statement that Henderson relied mainly on the Bible, the King mainly on tradition and the Fathers, but this is not a fair description of the argument. Charles clearly declared his belief in Scripture as the supreme standard of faith and practice; when the New Testament was not explicit (and nobody can say that it is an explicit manual of Church government) he referred, quite rightly, to the early history of the Church. In his first paper Henderson quotes from a medley of ancient authors; this, of course, was expected of a learned man admitted to the honour of arguing with his prince. Neither disputant succeeded in convincing his opponent. Henderson went on to Edinburgh, and died soon after his return; the King was left to solve the Church problem for himself. Lord Maitland, now Earl of Lauderdale, and Lanark, Hamilton's younger brother, were among those who pressed him to make terms with the Scots; the commissioners who came from the English Parliament would possibly have saved Presbyterianism if the King had given way. They brought with them Stephen Marshall, who preached a sermon 'peaceable not personal', as Charles gratefully remarked. Loudon warned the King that, if he did not put down the sectaries, they would 'process and depose' him, and set up another government. One result of the negotiations

at Newcastle was that Montrose had an order from the King to disband and quit the field. In Scotland the cause was hopeless, and at the end of August the victor of Kilsyth took ship for the continent; he went on board disguised as a servant.

By the end of the year the draft of the new Confession had been settled and revised: the divines presented their Humble Advice to the two houses of Parliament. The Commons asked for the scripture-proofs, and the matter was delayed until April by this demand. There was, as Baillie complained, a 'retarding party', of which Selden and others were active members. Though a layman, Selden was probably the most learned person who took part in the debates of the Westminster Assembly. Baxter thought him an earnest Christian, but his public life was a long campaign against 'divine right'; kings, bishops, and presbyters, he thought, were fallible men, and must be kept within the bounds of the common law. When the divines asked for time to find their proof-texts, Selden compared them to a man who boasts of his wealth, and cannot put down sixpence on demand. There were Englishmen out of doors who sympathized with the retarding party: Milton, for example, was writing his angry verses on the 'forcers of conscience' who were trying to impose a system 'taught them by mere A. S. and Rutherford'—A. S. was Adam Stewart, a Presbyterian pamphleteer. Milton, for one, would have nothing to do with a party represented by 'shallow Edwards and Scotch What-d'ye-call'. Edwards was an English supporter of the Westminster Assembly; Masson identifies What-d'ye-call with our worthy friend Baillie. At the opening of the new year the Estates of Scotland agreed that the Scots army should leave England, the King to be handed over to the custody of persons empowered by the English Parliament to receive him. Such was the inglorious sequel of the invasion which Baillie and the rest had welcomed so eagerly.

Alaster Macdonald, who had shared the brief glory of Montrose, still held out in the west; in the spring of the year Argyle and David Leslie undertook to deal with him. The minister who accompanied the covenanting army was John Nevay, a nephew of the faithful Cant. Alaster escaped to

Ireland, perhaps in the hope of bringing reinforcements ; his men were penned into the stronghold of Dunavertie ; after enduring many hardships, they surrendered ; Leslie seems to have been unwilling to order another massacre, but Mr. Nevay, instigated by Argyle, pressed the Old Testament texts which had so often been cited before, and some 400 men were slaughtered in cold blood.

When the Scottish Assembly met in August the Westminster Confession was accepted ; explanations were appended to chapters 30 (Church censures) and 31 (synods and councils). The English Parliament rejected these chapters altogether. Baillie and Gillespie reported on the labours of the Westminster Assembly, and on the obstructive tactics of Erastians, Independents, and other enemies of uniformity. There was some sharp criticism; Calderwood, in particular, was almost as discontented as he had been under the bishops. On one point there was general agreement ; it was more than ever necessary to testify against liberty of conscience. In this connexion reference was made to Dr. Jeremy Taylor's book on Liberty of Prophesying. Dr. Jeremy was, of course, a ' malignant ' ; his book, though admirably written, is not very conclusive as a piece of reasoning. It proves mainly this, that good men under oppression will always plead for liberty, until they come into power. Mr. Nevay, whom we have seen at work in Kintyre, was appointed to take part in the revision of our metrical psalms : from the 121st Psalm to the end of the book. The draft on which the revisers worked was the edition of Francis Rous, a Cornish member of Parliament.

In England the new-model army, mainly Independent, was falling out with the Parliament, in which Presbyterians still took the lead. Each side wished to have the custody and control of the King. Lauderdale and others were in England trying to make separate terms for the Scots, and by the end of the year Charles, a prisoner in Carisbrooke, had signed another of his futile compromises : Loudon, Lauderdale, and Lanark represented the Estates of Scotland. The Covenant was to be accepted, but not forced on any ; presbytery was to have a trial, for three years, and the sectaries were to be

suppressed. The Estates met in March and voted an army to liberate and restore the covenanted King; but the Commission of Assembly opposed; Loudon broke away from the royalist combination, and did penance in the high church at Edinburgh for his share in the Engagement. The Commission sent John Livingstone to persuade the army not to obey the Estates, but his mission was not successful. Both Leven and David Leslie stood aloof; they thought religion had not been adequately secured, and the army was placed under the command of our old acquaintance Hamilton, a soldier, but not a soldier who could cope with Cromwell. The westland men were fiercely hostile to the proposed adventure; in June a tumultuous body of them appeared on Mauchline Moor; with them was Mr. Nevay, still questing for fresh branches of the tribe of Amalek. This rising was known as the Whigamore raid, and the armed insurgents are the first Whigs of whom our history bears record. In July, when the Assembly met, Loudon and Argyle were absent; Warriston also stayed away; he was now Lord Advocate, and might be expected to take action against the westland men, with whom he too was in sympathy. This Assembly approved the two Catechisms made at Westminster. The Shorter Catechism has been used in our schools ever since; the Larger Catechism is less generally known; the burden of it was greater than we or our fathers have been able to bear. It was ordered that the Covenant should be taken by students entering college, and by young communicants.

George Gillespie sat in the chair as Moderator: the highest and, as it proved, the last distinction to which he attained. Though perhaps the youngest member of the Westminster Assembly, he had been one of its most powerful debaters. But his health was broken, and he retired to Kirkcaldy, his native town, where he occupied himself in writing yet one more pamphlet; when his dying hand refused to hold the pen he still went on dictating arguments against 'peace with malignants'. From George Gillespie's point of view, Jeremy Taylor was a malignant, with whom religious converse and political co-operation were equally impossible.

While Scotland was busy with her own problems, the nations of Europe were taking an important step towards peace and order. The Thirty Years' War came to an end, and the peace of Westphalia established the principle that difference of religion was no longer to be considered a sufficient cause of war: the 'three religions', Catholic, Lutheran, and Reformed, were to live peaceably side by side. Each State still identified itself with one of the contending creeds, and each retained the power to punish and suppress those who did not conform to the national Church.

In spite of opposition, the effort to rescue the King went forward; Hamilton marched south with a great force; but, at the critical moment, Cromwell joined Lambert among the hills of Yorkshire; the attack was delivered at Preston, and, after three days of confused fighting, the Scots army was no more. Before long Hamilton was a prisoner in London. He was Duke of Hamilton and Earl of Cambridge; it was fairly certain that the English Parliament would deal stringently with the Earl. This crushing defeat was a source of gloomy satisfaction to the party in Scotland who called themselves the godly or the well affected. Argyle and Loudon became the heads of a new administration. They were in friendly corrrespondence with Cromwell; he was a sectary, but he had been the instrument of God to punish the men who had disobeyed the Kirk. In the beginning of October the English general paid a flying visit to Edinburgh, where he was lodged in Moray House and hospitably entertained. He came to an understanding with Argyle, the nature of which it is not difficult to surmise. The new government of Scotland would not interfere in England, and would make itself and its neighbours safe by excluding from power all who had connected themselves with the Engagement. It is not likely that anything definite was said about the King; if Cromwell foresaw the immediate future he knew that the Scots were all royalists, and he could be as fluent and as ambiguous as the occasion required. Before Cromwell took his seat again in the English Parliament his army had moved on London; the Presbyterians had been purged out of the House of Commons; the trial of the

'chief delinquent' was a thing almost settled. In yielding to the movement Cromwell felt that the 'mercies' bestowed on him pointed him out as the chosen servant of God; the duty now before him was laid upon him and could not be evaded. His friends in Scotland lost no time in performing their part of the Moray house bargain. Early in January Argyle addressed the Estates, dividing the Engagers and enemies of government into five classes, according to the degree of their guilt; Warriston read a speech of two hours in length, expounding the Act of Classes, by which all these men were rendered incapable of any public trust. This Act did not remain very long on our statute-book, but it contributed, as we shall see, to Cromwell's conquest of Scotland. Argyle and his friends had kept their promises, but the English party with which they were allied was hurrying on to an act which destroyed the whole basis of the Solemn League. A revolutionary tribunal, called the High Court of Justice, undertook to try the King, and before the end of the month Charles was beheaded at Whitehall. As soon as the King's death was known in Edinburgh, Charles the Second was proclaimed King of Scotland; this was virtually a declaration of war against the regicide republic in England.

The Estates of Scotland, a body now representing only Argyle and his friends, remained in session; those ministers who had condemned the Engagement were now the indispensable supporters of government, and legislation conformed to their wishes. Patronage, an institution which the Assembly under Knox had hesitated to touch, was now abolished. Both the governing parties tried to consolidate their power by removing their conspicuous opponents; Hamilton was put to death in London, and Huntly in Edinburgh. Before the end of March a Scottish deputation set sail for the Hague, to interview the new king: Baillie was the chief spokesman of the Kirk on this occasion. Baillie, as we know, was a shrewd and humorous observer, but he was also a good party man; he had no clear vision of facts when they interfered with his theories. What he saw of the young prince convinced him, that if Charles accepted the position of a covenanted king, Scotland might take the

lead in restoring the monarchy and imposing Presbyterian uniformity on the factions. Charles's personal position was as yet so precarious that nothing definite was done.

When the Assembly met in July the disappearance of patronage made it necessary for the Church to frame rules for the election of ministers. After some debate the rule adopted was that laid down in the Second Book of Discipline: the elders should elect; the congregation should have a veto on the election, unless the presbytery found that their opposition was due to 'causeless prejudice'. Where the congregation were 'malignants' the presbytery should intrude a faithful minister upon them. Rutherford had argued for popular election; he was dissatisfied with the decision, but at this period the good man had little satisfaction in his life. His fondness for scholastic argument made it difficult for him to co-operate with others.

It was plain that the Council of State in England could not safely permit the monarchy to be set up in Scotland; but the Irish problem was the most urgent of their difficulties. In August Cromwell landed at Dublin, to take an ample revenge for the outbreak of 1641, and to lay, as it was hoped, the foundations of order and true religion in the sister kingdom. During his absence the King's advisers were not agreed as to the course they were to take. Montrose pressed for an immediate descent on Scotland; he felt sure that the tragedy of Whitehall would bring loyal men to his standard in overwhelming numbers. He made his attempt, and it ended in utter failure; his foreign troops were scattered by Colonel Strachan, a hard-bitten Covenanter; in a few days Montrose himself was a prisoner on his way to Edinburgh. On a Sunday his guards rested and attended service at Keith; once more the story of Samuel and Agag was expounded from the pulpit. On Saturday, 18th May, the party reached Edinburgh; they entered by the Watergate, where the hangman waited with his cart, and the prisoner began the ascent of the long street. As he passed Moray House a bridal party stood at the windows; Argyle himself, the father of the bridegroom, looked out through a half-closed shutter. At the Tolbooth Major Weir, commanding the town

guard, received the prisoner into his custody. This officer was afterwards burned for sorcery and other crimes; at the moment of Montrose's fall the Major was still the chief ornament of a pious coterie known as the Bowhead saints. During Saturday evening and Sunday many visitors had access to the prisoner. Ministers had been appointed to deal with him; the venerable Dickson and the youthful Durham (joint authors of the *Sum of Saving Knowledge*) were of the number, and James Guthrie lent his aid: among the Covenanters this Guthrie was known as Sickerfoot; the epithet must refer to his deliberate way of arguing, for in action he was often impulsive and rash. In his conversations with the divines Montrose was thought to be too airy and flighty; thus, when they charged him with having employed Irish Papists, he asked them to remember what a company David had with him in the cave at Adullam. On Monday morning the ministers came for a farewell conference; James Guthrie gave the prisoner a stringent but hardly accurate catalogue of his offences. There remained only the final interview with the Estates, at which Loudon laid down the law, and Warriston, who again was in his element, read the sentence. It was carried out at the market cross; the ministers who attended there were empowered to reconcile the dying man with the Kirk, if he expressed his repentance; but, so far as the Kirk and the Estates were concerned, Montrose had no apology to make. He was a Presbyterian; he cared nothing for bishops; he had left his party because, after accepting concessions from the King, they were joining hands with an English faction whose leaders were hurrying the King to a violent death.

Some time before Montrose 'fired his ringing shot, and passed', the young King had made terms with Argyle and the dominant Presbyterians. A month after Montrose's execution Charles lay off Speymouth; he signed both the Covenants before he was allowed to land. John Livingstone, who administered the test, did not believe in the King's sincerity, and the Provost of Aberdeen, who had helped to arrange terms at Breda, afterwards admitted that he and his party acted most sinfully when they entangled their prince

in an engagement which, as they well knew, he detested. There were fierce differences among Covenanters ; many westland Whigs were strongly opposed to Argyle's policy. When the Assembly met at Edinburgh on the 10th July nothing of importance was done : some ministers were deposed for submitting to Montrose ; the Commission of Assembly was left to draw a suitable declaration for the King to sign. After a show of resistance the King expressed his sorrow for the ' idolatry ' of his mother and the ' blood-guiltiness ' of his father. There was no time to settle the questions at issue. Earlier in the year Cromwell had finished the punitive part of his work in Ireland ; on his return to London he found his friends discussing the prospect of another Scots invasion ; he saw clearly that the best plan of defence was to attack without delay. By the end of June he had his commission as Captain-general : he ' went on roundly ' with his business ; but his thoughts were much stayed on Psalm cx, *The Lord said unto my Lord*—surely this is the psalm from which Henderson discoursed so impressively at Glasgow : it now inspired the great sectary who was about to lay Henderson's tabernacle in the dust.

Cromwell entered Scotland on the 22nd July : on Sunday, the 28th, he was pushing for the high ground at Gladsmuir, from which he hoped to see the English ships coming into the Frith of Forth. Leven was too old to take the field ; David Leslie lay at Broughton, close to Edinburgh ; his army was numerous and well appointed, but many soldiers had been purged out under the Act of Classes and the officers were largely ' ministers' sons, clerks, and other sanctified creatures '. The Committee of Estates and the Commission of Assembly controlled their general at every turn. As the English advanced they scattered Declarations, defending themselves against the preachers who were denouncing them as sectaries and blasphemers ; the Commission of Assembly made their reply, and from his quarters at Musselburgh Cromwell sent his rejoinder ; in this and other letters he dwells indignantly on the folly of men who agreed with English Puritans ' in fundamentals ', and yet were so blind to the lessons of God's providence that they had taken the ' chief malignant ' to their hearts, and

made a ' covenant with death and hell '. A month after the date of his letter to the Kirk, Cromwell drove the lesson home by winning the decisive battle of Dunbar. He was now master of the south-eastern counties of Scotland, but at the moment of our humiliation we can see that some pious men began to think there was truth in what Cromwell wrote. Jaffray, Provost of Aberdeen, had joined in the invitation to King Charles ; as a prisoner after Dunbar he talked matters over with the victorious general and with his chaplain John Owen ; ' in fundamentals ' he did agree with them rather than with Charles Stewart. In Edinburgh the ministers who took refuge in the castle wished to argue against the lawfulness of lay preaching ; Cromwell made nothing of their proof-texts and told them bluntly not to be envious ' though Eldad and Medad prophesy.' Robert Stapleton preached before his Excellency at the high kirk, while the English engineers were mining the castle ; the Scots present testified much affection for the doctrine preached, ' in their usual way of groans.'

The King had already discovered that the position of a covenanted king was not suited to his ideas. He was helpless in the hands of Argyle ; Hamilton and Lauderdale were not allowed to be with him. Buckingham had leave to stay with his master ; he was a notorious libertine, but he was strongly of opinion that the King's best chance of success lay in an alliance with the Presbyterians. In the west the Whigs accepted the event of Dunbar as an indication that God had rejected the house of Stewart ; on the 17th October they issued a Remonstrance to that effect from Dumfries ; among the laymen who joined the movement was Colonel Strachan, who had defeated Montrose ; among the ministers were Patrick Gillespie, younger brother of the deceased George, and James Guthrie. Before the Remonstrance was drawn up Cromwell had come with the main body of his army to Glasgow ; Baillie and his friends fled away to the Cumbraes ; Zachary Boyd would not leave his pulpit, and railed against the sectaries in his best manner. On a similar provocation King James would have sent the preacher to Blackness ; Cromwell asked him to dinner, and detained him for family worship, which

lasted three hours. Some royalists were trying to take advantage of the division among their Presbyterian tyrants. General Middleton, a capable officer, whom Baillie credits with ' wisdom, sobriety, and moderation ', went to the north to raise troops for the King, without insisting on more than a nominal compliance with the Covenants. James Guthrie went to the Commission of Assembly, and proposed that Middleton should be excommunicated ; many ministers opposed, but the motion was carried ; the Committee of Estates asked for delay, but Guthrie was beyond control ; he published the sentence, and Middleton had to do penance before he was again recognized as a member of the Church. He did not forget the affront.

Parliament met at Perth in the end of November, and it was plain that moderate Presbyterians would endeavour to relax the Act of Classes. A Resolution was passed condemning the Remonstrance ; the Commission of Assembly agreed unanimously with the Estates ; Guthrie and Rutherford continued to protest.

On the 1st January Charles was crowned at Scone ; Robert Douglas preached, and Argyle placed the crown on the head of his sovereign. Young Rothes, son of the covenanting champion, carried the sword of state. The schism went on until the Assembly met on the 16th July at St. Andrews ; Robert Douglas was Moderator. Menzies, a protester, moved to exclude the members of commission as ' scandalous persons '. At this juncture the English were just landing in Fife ; at midnight on Sunday the Assembly was hastily adjourned to Dundee ; Rutherford thought this a suitable time to send in a protest against the ' lawfulness ' of the Assembly, signed by himself and twenty-one others ; the majority deposed Rutherford and Guthrie. At Dundee nothing of importance was done, but for the next ten years the Presbyterian party was divided into resolutioners and protesters, and the strife was very keen. Blair, with some hesitation, acquiesced in the Resolution ; he and Rutherford were joint ministers of the great kirk of St. Andrews. For six years there was no communion in that kirk because these two saints of the Covenant could not officiate at the Lord's Table together.

The royalists had their head-quarters at Stirling; by marching on Perth, Cromwell left the road to England open. Once more the King of Scots was on the march for Carlisle; Lambert, who had been preaching regularly in Edinburgh, followed him without delay; Cromwell himself was not far behind. Scotland was left in charge of General Monk, who met with no serious opposition; Colonel Alured captured the remnant of the Committee of Estates at Alyth; a few days later Monk took Dundee by storm. Many important prisoners were sent to London; among them Robert Douglas, Moderator, and James Sharp, minister of Crail. If a hasty man-at-arms had shot Mr. Sharp he would have had his niche among the Men of the Covenant, but the minister was reserved for a more conspicuous fate.

The royalist army had thrown itself into Worcester city, and there, on the anniversary of Dunbar, it was utterly defeated. This 'crowning mercy' made Cromwell the ruler of three kingdoms, subject only to the wishes and scruples of the military party which had placed him where he was. His fighting days were over; in the seven remaining years of his life he had to cope with the enormous task of reconstructing the whole civil administration. Scotland was a conquered country, but it was treated, fairly and considerately, as a part of Great Britain. In the year that followed Worcester much progress was made. On the 20th July the Assembly met at Edinburgh; Cant, Rutherford, and some sixty others protested as before; there was some talk of holding a separate Assembly.

One matter which concerned the Kirk was to obtain the release of those ministers who were now prisoners in England. The synod of Lothian were unanimous in selecting Mr. Robert Leighton for this difficult duty. He was a son of that Dr. Leighton whom we have seen crushed, but not conquered, by the paternal hand of Dr. Laud. For the last ten years Mr. Robert had been minister of Newbattle; his sermons were admitted to be good, but some complained that he was introducing a 'new guise' of preaching. The favourite Scotch divines were accustomed to discourse at great length; they

used a multiplicity of heads, and they spoke with a cadence which some Scotsmen still associate with piety. Leighton wrote sermons of moderate length, in admirable English, committed them to memory, and delivered them in a low voice, with a certain vivacity of manner which younger men were trying to imitate. In the matter of Church government he was a 'latitudinarian': he did not believe that either episcopacy or presbytery was plainly commanded in scripture; his experience of our Church courts had not led him to form a high opinion of presbytery. As the representative of his synod in England he acquitted himself well, and made a good impression on the Puritan government.

In the following summer the Assembly met once more at Edinburgh; a fast day was observed; Dickson and Douglas preached very graciously. Separated by a partition from these 'unfaithful' brethren, the protesters lay in wait to assert their principles. Before the house was constituted Colonel Cotterel demanded to know by what authority they met. It was the old question of Lethington and King James; Dickson made the old reply, but the colonel intimated that the Assembly was dissolved. Foot-soldiers conducted the members as far as the West Port; from that point a party of horse escorted them to Bruntsfield Links; their names were called over, and they were ordered to disperse. Baillie went home, to write down his sad reflections on this act of power. Leighton also was present; he had just been relieved of his parish, and was now Principal of Edinburgh University: of him as of Andrew Melville we may say that he was now evidently in his right place. Mr. Nye, who was very busy in London, must have heard with some satisfaction that his argument, rejected by the Westminster divines, was now receiving a practical application.

Kirk-sessions, presbyteries, and synods were allowed to go on as before. In later and darker days, Presbyterians looked back to the Commonwealth as a period when their system was not suppressed; according to some, Scotland at this time became a kind of paradise. These retrospective pictures are exaggerated, but they may present one aspect of the case. Many of the ministers were good earnest men, and

their exclusion from politics gave them more time for their spiritual duties.

It was, as Cromwell thought, part of the business of government to see that every part of the country was provided with a gospel ministry. He would gladly have made peace between resolutioners and protesters, but this was impossible. Warriston, who became a judge under the new government, was a protester ; he and Guthrie could usually defeat any proposal in the nature of a compromise. From time to time the Protector summoned leading ministers to advise him in London ; some went, and some declined to go, but the Kirk remained unsettled. The protesters, perhaps because they were in a minority, were more disposed to co-operate with government ; when they could obtain the support of English officials, they could intrude ' faithful ' ministers into vacant parishes. In 1655 they favoured the proposal of a commission to settle the Church : they hoped, no doubt, to obtain a commission which would eject and intrude until the balance of power was altered in their favour. But next year, when they went south, the resolutioners sent Sharp of Crail to state the objections to the scheme, and his argument prevailed. Cromwell thought ' Sharp of that ilk ', as he called him, a clever man.

On the seventh anniversary of Worcester Cromwell breathed his last, and his son Richard was proclaimed. For a time ' no dog wagged his tongue ', but it was evident the army was restless and divided. The most trustworthy body of troops in the country was the army of occupation in Scotland, commanded by General Monk ; by dint of holding his tongue this capable officer became master of the situation. As soon as the new Protector was proclaimed Monk wrote him a friendly letter, lamenting the decay of vital godliness, and suggesting another Assembly of divines. He did not name any Scots divine : a curious proof of the insignificance to which resolutioners and protesters had reduced the Kirk. Richard Cromwell, a good and amiable man, had neither the genius nor the ambition of his father. In April 1659 the protesters wished to petition the government in London ' against toleration ' ; Baillie, who had some common sense, pointed out the futility

of this proceeding; the men to whom the protesters would appeal were themselves Independents, Anabaptists, and Erastians. Almost all Englishmen are, in a sense, Erastians; they hold that the main lines of ecclesiastical policy should be fixed by laymen, and that no minister of religion should be allowed to dictate to the State. Monk was considering the signs of the time, and his own policy gradually took shape. On the 2nd January 1660 he marched into England; a month later Dickson and Douglas were in conference with Sharp, who was to represent the resolutioners in England. Sharp, as Cromwell had discerned, was an intelligent man; his visits to London and Breda enabled him to see how the land lay. He told his friends at once that there was no hope of presbytery in England; this was in fact the state of affairs. As for Scotland, opinions were much divided; in the north the Covenant had never been popular; even in the lowlands Douglas saw that the younger men had no love for presbyterial discipline. On the 25th May, when Charles landed at Dover, Monk, soon to be a Duke, received him with fervour; the Mayor presented a Bible, which the King said he loved above all things. On the 29th, the King's birthday, there were great rejoicings in Scotland, but Donald Cargill, minister of the Barony at Glasgow, denounced the King for his wicked life, and prophesied disaster. For this and other offences he was 'outed' in due time, and became one of the wandering preachers who kept alive the notion that the Covenants were still binding.

When Sharp returned to Scotland he brought a letter from the King to the presbytery of Edinburgh, promising to maintain the government of the Church, as settled by law. This was accepted as a promise of a Presbyterian settlement; the letter was placed in a silver casket, and copies were sent to other presbyteries. But the King, like the Glasgow Assembly, was now in a position to make his own law.

Parliament sat at the beginning of January; the session lasted till July, and a great many Acts were passed. Middleton, now an Earl, represented the king; in earlier days he had been credited with 'sobriety and moderation'; but the Restoration brought in a great recoil from Puritanism; Middleton and

Rothes were both hard drinkers, and Lauderdale, in London, was giving way to profligate habits. Before the end of March, Parliament had agreed to the Act Rescissory, which annulled all Acts passed since 1640; the legal basis of the Kirk was removed, as neatly as Henderson and his noble friends had removed the legal basis of episcopacy. The King was empowered to settle the government of the Church; until this was done, sessions, presbyteries and synods might continue to meet. These legislative acts were varied by judicial proceedings of some importance. Argyle was tried and, of course, condemned; at the end of May he paid the penalty of his offences. He had more than once shown himself deficient in military courage, but the quiet dignity of the closing scene was remembered in his favour, and he became a saint of the Covenant. Among the counsel who appeared for him we note the name of George Mackenzie, of whom we shall see more in the sequel. Some days later James Guthrie was hanged. In his day of power he had shown no mercy, and in his turn he received none. When his principles were not in issue, Guthrie was a man of considerable ability and not unkindly disposition.

When Parliament rose, the King was left to settle the Church. It was the current belief (not, in itself, an ignoble belief) that a great State could only be based on a faith held in common. Charles could not reign in England unless as a member of the English Church; he attempted, like his grandfather before him, to bring Scotland into line. Lauderdale put in a plea for Presbyterianism, but the King said that was not a religion for gentlemen: if he was thinking of the men who made him sign canting reflections on his father and mother, he had some excuse for this petulant remark. If the King's decision to restore episcopacy had been inspired by any high purpose, the event might have been different, but his conduct throughout was evasive and contemptuous. He disliked Scotland, and did not mean to live there. Charles was a much more skilful politician than his father; his reign was, on the whole, successful, and he died in his bed, reconciled at the last to the only Church for which he had any respect; the blame of his misgovernment was visited on his agents.

As in 1610 the Scottish episcopate was to derive its consecration from England ; in December a small but distinguished company met at Westminster. Sharp was to be Archbishop of St. Andrews ; Fairfoul, a totally unsuitable person, had somehow captured Glasgow ; Hamilton, a respectable man, who had been a Covenanter, was to have Galloway, Sydserf, the only survivor of 1638, having been translated to Orkney. Sir Elisha Leighton, a Roman Catholic, had influence at court ; he had suggested the name of his brother. Robert Leighton had accepted ; he was, in principle, an episcopalian, and he saw, what nobody in Scotland could or would see, that there is no necessary connexion between episcopacy and prelacy. He hoped to reconcile some of his countrymen to the institution by living among them as a true pastor, not as a lordly prelate. For this reason he had chosen Dunblane, the poorest bishopric in Scotland. As on the previous occasion, Canterbury and York stayed at home ; four bishops officiated. Sharp and Leighton, having no episcopal ordination, were made deacons and priests before they were consecrated bishops. Sharp objected, and submitted ; Leighton made no difficulty ; as he understood the matter, his Anglican ordination was ' cumulative, not privative '. The new prelates came home with some pomp, but Leighton slipped away and took no part in the demonstration. The bishops now in office proceeded to fill up the Scottish sees ; the men selected were men of respectable character and competent learning : they were all resolutioners. Sharp, now free to act on his own opinion, did not require them to be re-ordained. In the north, ministers and people settled down under the form of government which most of them preferred ; in the south and west a strong Presbyterian party, including all the protesters, held out against the King's policy. These worthy men figure in our popular books as champions of liberty ; but a man's love of liberty should be measured by what he concedes to others, not by what he claims for himself. They held, as firmly as their opponents, to the principle of uniformity ; they looked forward to a happy time when neither Papist nor sectary should be allowed to breathe the air of Scotland.

When Parliament met, the spiritual Estate was invited to take its customary place ; both archbishops and seven bishops responded to the invitation. Episcopacy was revived, and patronage along with it. Ministers admitted since 1649 were required to obtain presentation from the patron and collation from the bishop. Many refused to comply with this law ; once more the Church was ' purged ' by a series of expulsions and intrusions. Parliament rose in September ; the bishops were free to meet their clergy in the diocesan synods, and to do, each in his own way, what the State expected of them. Fairfoul was prepared to use all the powers of the law, and in October Middleton went through to Glasgow to help him ; the King's commissioner and the councillors who sat with him were frequently drunk. We turn with relief to Dunblane, where Leighton was beginning his earnest effort to work up to Ussher's ideal, and to combine the advantages of episcopacy and presbytery. His success was only partial ; many Presbyterians refused to be conciliated. They had often denounced the pride of the prelacy, but the complaint against Leighton was that he was too humble. Obviously he was a jesuitical person ; he was ' straking their mouths with cream ', only in order to hand them over to Sharp. As for Sharp himself, he was an official and nothing more ; his business, as he understood it, was to keep the episcopal system visibly in power, and so to satisfy the King. He was shocked by Fairfoul's excesses ; he regarded Leighton with sour disapproval. Under his management, the Church of Scotland became an affair of compromises which satisfied neither of the contending parties. No attempt was made to introduce either a service-book or a new standard of doctrine. Presbyteries continued to meet, and to transact routine business ; above them were the episcopal synods ; there was even in time a national synod, which never met. Some individuals were prosecuted and punished for opposition to the authorities. John Livingstone took advantage of his Communion season at Ancrum to denounce the bishops ; he had to retire to Holland. Brown of Wamphray, a learned man and a good minister, was dealt with for calling the ministers who attended synods ' false knaves ' ; he also

went into exile, and had time to write a Latin treatise in support of the Sabbatarian theory.

Middleton was so pleased with the success of his measures that he expected to be the King's chief man in Scotland ; he might perhaps endow his dignity by annexing the great domain of Argyle. These projects were easily defeated by Lauderdale ; Middleton was disgraced, and when the Estates met Rothes was high commissioner. An Act was passed to compel the King's subjects to attend their parish kirks. One more rebel had to pay the extreme penalty of the law. When Argyle and James Guthrie were arrested, Warriston had escaped to France ; he was now brought to the bar and duly condemned. He was in a pitiable state of weakness, attributable partly to mistaken medical treatment. Both in London and in Edinburgh, Warriston was attended by his nephew Gilbert Burnet, who had just completed his course at Aberdeen, and was entering on his long and eminently useful career as a minister of the gospel. This young man's father, Robert Burnet, advocate, an earnest godly man, had twice been driven into exile for refusing to sign the Covenants ; his wife, Rachel Johnston, was a fierce Covenanter. Their son Gilbert, born in 1643, was a man capable of indiscretions (' a bee-headed fool ' was his mother's expression), but in the main honest and kindly. He had chosen Leighton as his guide and model, and his choice does credit to his youthful judgment.

In January a Court of High Commission was established, but this, like the rest of Sharp's arrangements, was a matter of form only. During this troubled period the Privy Council was the government of Scotland ; the Archbishop was, of course, a member, with precedence over all the King's subjects. It was the Council which saw to the enforcement of the law in regard to presentation and collation. Those ministers who would not comply were flung out as ruthlessly as Henderson and his friends had flung out those who opposed the Covenant. They were silenced unless they could evade the law by addressing meetings in houses or in the open air. These conventicles, as they were called, were now to be suppressed, just as the Presbyterians, when in power, had suppressed ' private meetings '.

In this year Patrick Scougal, a scholar and a man of genuine piety, became Bishop of Aberdeen, and Gilbert Burnet was chosen to succeed him as minister of Saltoun. Even his enemies admit that his parish profited much by his devotion to his pastoral duties; his excellent memory enabled him to use the Book of Common Prayer without unduly alarming the congregation. Following the example of Leighton, he entered on a course of severe study, and lived an ascetic life; when his health broke down, his covenanting mother came to sit by the bed of her episcopalian son. The invalid's mind wandered; he imagined that the primate had come to see him, and called out, 'Where shall we find a place for him?'. His mother assured him that a place would be found for the Archbishop 'in the hottest corner of hell'. At all stages of his active life Burnet was a predestined pamphleteer. He had protested formally against the Court of High Commission; he now composed a memorial for the guidance of the bishops, pointing out the mistakes in their policy. Sharp would have deposed or even excommunicated the author of this paper, but Scougal persuaded his episcopal colleagues to content themselves with a censure.

Scotland was then a rough country, in every sense of the term, and there was no adequate police; if ministers or laymen disobeyed the law, the government could only rely on military force. Sir James Turner, graduate of Glasgow, a veteran of the German wars, maintained order in Galloway and Nithsdale; he billeted soldiers on covenanting households, and extorted fines for non-attendance at church. In the middle of November some of his men got into trouble at Dalry; some lairds took part with the insurgents; they marched to Dumfries, captured Sir James, and carried him with them through the country; the extreme men among them attributed their subsequent misfortunes to the sinful moderation which withheld them from taking Turner's life. At Lanark the Covenants were renewed by a considerable body of armed men. They marched on Edinburgh, but were obliged to retreat. Hugh McKail, a preacher residing in the family of Sir James Stewart, accompanied them as far as his strength would permit. At Rullion

Green in the Pentlands they were utterly defeated, and the insurrection was over. The forces of government were commanded by Thomas Dalzell of Binns, a conspicuous figure in the field by reason of his long white beard, which he had allowed to grow since the murder of King Charles. This ineffective rising was followed by the usual severities ; McKail was punished with the rest ; in December he was tortured and hanged. Many hapless prisoners were detained in Edinburgh ; George Wishart, once the faithful companion of Montrose, was now bishop of that see ; he sent food from his own kitchen to the prisoners. Wodrow repays his kindness by alleging that Wishart swore, drank, and wrote improper poems ; but no evidence has been found in support of these accusations, and it is safer not to believe what Wodrow says about any bishop.

The bitterness of the defeated party found expression in a pamphlet called *Naphtali*, written by a minister named Stirling, assisted by James Stewart, an advocate without business, son of that Sir James who had employed Hugh McKail as his chaplain. In this manifesto the deaths of Warriston and James Guthrie were recounted ; the laws of which the Kirk complained were stringently examined, and a vague hope was held out of the extirpation of prelacy when the nation came to a right mind. Honeyman, Bishop of Orkney, published an indignant reply, and Stewart rejoined in a further pamphlet entitled *Ius Populi Vindicatum* ; he then retired into the background of our politics, until the changes of a later time brought him to the front again. Lauderdale was now the master of Scotland ; he could not venture to oppose the King, but he was a man of sense and knowledge, and his own opinions were Presbyterian. Many leading Scotsmen submitted to his ascendancy and helped him to maintain what was called order. The young Earl of Argyle, for instance, was deeply indebted to Lauderdale and supported his measures ; he had some hereditary sympathy with the Covenanters, but would not encourage rebellion ; he would cut the throats of rebels. There was a general expectation that the penal laws would be relaxed, so far as Protestants were concerned. The emissaries of Rome were doing, in the high-

lands, just what the Covenanters were doing in the south. They held their services in private houses or on the hillside ; they sent students to the Scots college at Rome ; they exerted themselves to provide proper instruction for Catholic children. These details we learn from a report which Alexander Winster, prefect of the Scots mission, sent to Rome in 1668. Bishops and Covenanters were agreed in demanding strict execution of the laws against Papists.

The advent of indulgence was delayed by an untoward incident. James Mitchell, a minister who had studied under Leighton, was moved, as he said, by the Spirit of God to assassinate Sharp. He fired a pistol at the primate's coach, missed his intended victim, and wounded Honeyman, the bishop who had answered *Naphtali*. Mitchell escaped for the moment, and Sharp, having been in danger, was more powerful than before.

The interval of comparative toleration, known as the 'Blink,' was due to several causes. King Charles was lazily hostile to penal laws in religion ; if he could bring in toleration he might in time be able to do something for his Catholic friends. Lauderdale disliked the bishops, and especially the two archbishops—Sharp, because he had too much power ; Alexander Burnet, now Archbishop of Glasgow, because he was an honest Anglican, not likely to join in political compromises. Whatever his ecclesiastical views may have been, Lauderdale was an absolutist in his politics. By his advice the King issued a Letter of Indulgence, directing that outed ministers who had lived peaceably might be appointed to vacant churches. The bishops objected ; they were, of course, intolerant in principle, as their covenanting opponents were, and they would not allow Church questions to be decided by the royal prerogative. Robert Douglas and George Hutcheson, the supposed leaders of the Presbyterians, accepted the Indulgence, but only some forty ministers followed their example ; the rank and file of the party were virtually in rebellion against the King whom they had invited to reign over them and the English. Alexander Burnet induced his synod to concur in asserting their spiritual independence. When Parliament met

in October, Sharp declared that neither the Pope, the King, nor the Assembly was the rightful head of the Church of Scotland. Lauderdale met these demonstrations by dictating an Assertory Act in which the King's prerogative was defined in ample terms. Archbishop Burnet had to resign; he went into retirement, and Leighton, who clung to the hope of comprehension, agreed to hold the archbishopric of Glasgow *in commendam*: he was to have a fraction of the income of the see, and liberty to press his own scheme on the Church. Gilbert Burnet was transferred from Saltoun to a Glasgow chair.

For a year or more Leighton's plan (it came to be known as the Accommodation) was the chief topic of discussion. Lauderdale thought the Presbyterians 'rude and crafty' in their reception of it, and there was some truth in the gibe. The divines of each party assumed that the system which they preferred was explicitly commanded in the New Testament. The historical method of inquiry has brought many of us to the conclusion that neither diocesan episcopacy nor Melvinian presbytery has any express warrant in Scripture. Their notions of Church history prevented the Presbyterians from admitting that they had anything to learn from the Church of the second century. After Leighton had done his best, six of his friends—Nairne, Charteris, Cook, Paterson, Aird, and Gilbert Burnet—preached in a number of parishes; when they could get a hearing, they found their congregations primed with proof-texts and not open to argument; they were followed up by 'hot preachers', who turned their doctrine into ridicule. As a sample of the proof-texts we may note that the words 'Touch not, taste not, handle not' were wrenched from their context and applied to episcopal government. In the meantime conventicles were becoming more frequent; men were attending them armed, and in one case a King's officer had been deforced. When the Bass Rock was purchased for the King, it became a fortress and also a state-prison.

As regarded the conventicles, Lauderdale relied entirely on coercion. An Act of 1670 made it a capital offence to preach at a conventicle attended by more people than a house would hold. The King thought this too harsh; the Earl of Tweeddale

explained that the Act was not to be executed: this is often the case with penal statutes which go beyond what decent people think necessary. Such was the state of affairs when, in June 1672, Lauderdale, now a Duke, came again to open Parliament; he was accompanied by the Duchess (his second wife), a brilliant lady who played her own mischievous part in politics. The Conventicle Act was prolonged; irregular ordinations and marriages were forbidden. It happened that the King was trying the effect of an Indulgence in England; another instalment of the same policy was bestowed on Scotland. In September the Council made an order under which a certain number of the outed ministers were to be assigned to vacant parishes. Before the end of the year Leighton was archbishop in name as well as in fact; but the good man was near the end of his course. He had more than once asked leave to retire; he had even expressed the opinion that all the bishops would do well to retire; and Sharp might have lived longer if he had taken this advice. Leighton was asked to go on for another year; when the time came he laid down his burden with a thankful heart, apologized for any fault he had committed, found no fault with his brethren, and was free at last to live a life of devotion, charity, and study. Before Leighton went away, to make his home in England, Sharp had a warning of what was working in the minds of his enemies. He was mobbed by covenanting ladies in Edinburgh, and one of these Christian matrons, laying her hand on the Archbishop's neck, said, 'This shall pay for all.' In the following year, letters of intercommuning were issued against a number of recalcitrant persons: we may note, among others, the name of John Balfour of Kinloch, known as 'Burley'. He and his relative Hackston of Rathillet, a converted episcopalian, were sworn enemies of the primate.

The Presbyterian party was far from being united; those who had been resolutioners laboured to find some basis of agreement with the King; others again were militant, and this section had the sympathy of the ladies of the Johnston family, as we have seen. Others thought they were called to testify by suffering, but their advice was deemed 'quakerish' by some.

The Friends had taken no conspicuous part in the religious life of the country, but George Fox and his disciples had visited Scotland, and had made some notable converts, especially in Aberdeen. They were treated as other unlicensed preachers were treated at the time. When it was represented to the Provost that a number of these harmless people had been shut up in a narrow and noisome prison, he answered that he would ' pack them like salmon in a barrel '.

Lauderdale took such steps as he could to strengthen the system he administered. Gilbert Burnet had not been submissive enough ; he found it safer to go to London, where he began the long career of clerical and political activity which brought him at last to a bishopric. George Mackenzie, a bold critic of government, was muzzled when he became King's Advocate. Mackenzie was an enlightened man, who did much to remove the more barbarous features of our law. He was also a religious man, or at least interested in religion ; his sympathy with the Quakers indicates the line which a thoughtful layman might be disposed to take in that age of controversy. While rising to the head of his profession, he had known great sorrows ; after he had lost his wife and two children he wrote of himself as one who lived on, more from duty than from inclination. Lauderdale did not rely mainly on lawyers ; coercion was his remedy for all the ills of Scotland ; in the end of 1677 the army, the militia, and the ' highland host ' were all called out to maintain order. In the autumn of 1678 John Graham of Claverhouse received his first important command. He was a capable officer, and a man of some character ; even Covenanters admitted that Claverhouse ' hated to spend his time with wine and women ' ; he discouraged licence and profanity among his men. He was a church-going householder, inquiring no further in the laws than the orders of his superiors. He was not indiscriminately cruel ; he was sorry to see a man die, even a Whig, but if he could hang or shoot a leading man, and so save many others from getting into trouble, he had no scruple. He soon found that his chief difficulty would be want of information ; most of the peasantry sympathized with the conventiclers.

While Scotland was kept in unrest, English politics began to turn on the Church questions now at issue. The King conformed to the Church of England ; the Duke of York, his brother and heir-presumptive, was an avowed Catholic. He had consulted a Jesuit as to the lawfulness of concealing his religion, and had been told that no such deception would be sanctioned by his Church. Was it safe to allow a Papist to wear the crown ? Some of those who answered in the negative were casting their eyes on James, Duke of Monmouth and Buccleuch, a young man who inherited the good looks and the pleasant manners of his mother, Lucy Walters. Charles, though loyal to his brother, was pushing the young Duke forward, and had already made him Chancellor of Cambridge. In writing, from Newmarket, to the authorities of that University, Monmouth told them that the King did not approve of the ' supine and slothful ' habit of reading their sermons.

On Thursday, the 1st May 1679, Archbishop Sharp attended a meeting of Council in Edinburgh. He went homeward in his coach ; stopped at Ceres on Saturday to smoke a pipe with the minister, and left in time to be in St. Andrews for Sunday. At Magus Moor a company of armed men were waiting for him ; Hackston and John Balfour were the leaders. They had, perhaps, come together to take some action against Carmichael, the sheriff-depute ; but when they heard that the Archbishop's coach was on the road they felt sure that the Spirit of God had indicated the path of duty. They beset the coach, fired shots into it, dragged the old man out, and dispatched him with their swords ; his daughter, who threw herself between the assassins and their victim, was wounded. A touch of superstition completes the picture of the crime. To amuse himself or his daughter, Sharp had captured a bee, and was carrying it in a little box ; the insect was evidently a ' familiar spirit ', imprisoned there to buzz wickedness into the dead man's ear. Having killed their enemy, the Covenanters went to a house where they remained in prayer for some hours ; after this they rode off to Perth and Dunblane ; their object was to work round to their friends in Lanarkshire. The news of Sharp's death, and the arrival of the murderers, caused a com-

motion which ultimately took the form of a manifesto. On Friday, the 29th May, the day of the King's birth and of his restoration, a band of about eighty men, led by Thomas Douglas, minister, and Robert Hamilton, brother to the laird of Preston, went to Rutherglen (now a suburb of Glasgow), burned the Act Rescissory and other laws and orders to which they objected, and fixed to the market cross a short declaration of their testimony. Claverhouse went to confer with Lord Ross in Glasgow; he then made a tour, in the hope of falling in with a conventicle, announced for the following Sunday. He did fall in with it, little to his advantage. A large body of men, armed some with guns and some with pitchforks, took up a strong position on the farm of Drumclog; they had no chief commander, but Hackston and Balfour were both among the leaders; all were in a mood for attack rather than defence. The sorrel horse on which Claverhouse rode was horribly wounded with a scythe, and carried his master off the field. In the end victory remained with the Covenanters, but the King's officers carried off their standards. This victory was a great misfortune for the Covenanters; they kept the field for a few weeks, expecting to see the forces of government scattered before them, arguing and quarrelling among themselves. The views of the less extreme party were expressed in the Hamilton declaration, published on the 13th June; the extreme men disliked this document because it 'took in the King's interest', from which they considered themselves free. English troops were sent, under the command of Monmouth and Dalzell; at Bothwell Bridge, on Sunday, the 22nd June, the Covenanters were utterly defeated. Monmouth stopped the slaughter as soon as he could, and only a few ringleaders were put to death, but droves of prisoners were sent to Edinburgh; some 1,500 men were pent into the kirkyard of Greyfriars, where the Covenant had been signed. Some of these unfortunate men were transported to Virginia, and in their case the order of Government took effect. A short time before the prophetic Peden, after spending some years on the Bass, had been sent, with a number of others, to America; but the captain of their ship discovered that they were not criminals,

but only people in trouble about religion, and they had been allowed to land at Gravesend.

During these eventful years the story of a Popish Plot had occasioned a panic in England ; Protestant zeal was so fervent that the Duke of York's position became dangerous. The King thought it necessary to support his brother's rights and to withdraw his favour from Monmouth. Scotland, with her undeveloped Parliament and all-powerful Council, was regarded by Government as a safer country than England ; after spending a short time in Holland, the Duke of York came to Edinburgh. His behaviour was conciliatory, but his presence in the country excited the Covenanters to fury. On the 3rd June 1680 an attempt was made to arrest Cargill and Hall of Haughhead, a laird who had fought at Drumclog. Cargill escaped ; Hall was killed, and in his pocket was found a paper, evidently the draft of a new declaration, and probably composed by Cargill. In this manifesto, which resembles a covenanting sermon, the King and the Duke are utterly disowned ; the nation is called upon to choose its governors ; the persons chosen are to be engaged to govern by that civil and judicial law given by God to His people of Israel. Malignants will raise an ignorant clamour upon this, that it is a fifth monarchy and the Covenanters fifth-monarchy men : the allusion here is to a wild English sect, sternly put to silence by Cromwell ; ' but if this be their fifth monarchy, we both are and ought to be such '. When Cargill wrote these words, he was a man of seventy, driven to desperation, and full of the idea that the historical books of the Old Testament are a safe guide for Christian statesmen. Of the younger leaders the most popular was Richard Cameron, a preacher of great emotional power. On the 22nd June Cameron and some twenty others rode into Sanquhar and published a declaration ; the King and the Duke were disowned ; war was declared against the King and all who acknowledged him ; the Rutherglen declaration was confirmed ; the Hamilton declaration was disclaimed. To conclude, they claimed the right to reward those who were against them ' as they have done to us, as the Lord gives opportunity '. This is not Christian language, but again we may note the influence of

Old Testament ideas. A month after the demonstration at Sanquhar a small party of Covenanters were surprised at Airdsmoss. Hackston, who was in command, resolved to stand his ground ; Cameron prayed that God would ' spare the green and take the ripe.' He and his brother were killed ; Hackston was taken prisoner, carried to Edinburgh, and put to death. In September there was a conventicle in the forest of Torwood, at which Cargill excommunicated the King, the Dukes of York, Monmouth, Lauderdale, and Rothes, George Mackenzie, and Thomas Dalzell. In October the Duke of York came again to Edinburgh, and at Christmas the students burned the Pope in effigy.

At the present day few of us would hesitate to admit that allegiance has its limits ; there are forms of misgovernment which decent men will regard as justifying rebellion. To say that the extreme Presbyterians were now a rebel party is not therefore to condemn all their proceedings. The movement was general in the south and west ; in the north the people lived quietly under their own bishops and clergy ; even in the lowlands there were many who disliked the excesses of the Covenanters, and hoped against hope that Government would do something to restore order. The Covenanters were forming societies which maintained correspondence among themselves and with the exiled brethren in Holland ; they were known collectively as the Society-men. The law was enforced from time to time in the accustomed way ; in January two women were executed ' for treason ' ; in July old Cargill was caught at last. He died on the 27th July, and on the following day the Duke of York opened Parliament ; his carriage was beset by the Sweet Singers, a band of women who were wandering about under the leadership of John Gib, a seafaring man with a turn for mystery. Those who controlled the business of this Parliament had two objects in view—to protect the succession of the Papist heir-presumptive, and to reassure the minds of anxious Protestants. After ratifying the Confession of 1560, as enacted in 1567, Parliament once more asserted the royal supremacy in language which was meant to be unqualified ; the Duke's hereditary right was included in

a test, to be taken by all who held civil or military office. James Dalrymple, the great jurist who presided in the Court of Session, tried to take the test with a qualification, safeguarding the Protestant religion ; he had to resign his place, went into retirement, and in due time found his way to Holland. Argyle had concurred in all measures of government ; he had even voted for Cargill's death, but he also attempted qualification ; he was thrown into prison, escaped, probably with the connivance of Government, and joined his friends in exile. After Parliament rose the Society-men met for deliberation ; James Renwick, a student of nineteen, came forward to take the place of Cargill and Cameron. Their declaration, published at Lanark in January, ratified and approved the declarations of Rutherglen and Sanquhar, the latter of which was now stated to have been authorized by a convention of the shires and Estates of Scotland. They avowed their intention to extricate themselves from a tyrannous yoke, ' and to reduce our Church and State to what they were in 1648 and 1649 '— that is, in the interval between Preston and Dunbar, when the State was too weak to resent the dictation of the Church. After helping to publish this declaration, Renwick went to Groningen, to complete his course of theological study.

A better reasoned protest against the legislation of 1681 came from the Episcopalian side. Bishop Scougal led the movement of protest in the north, and the Council tried to meet his objections by mitigating the form of the test. The worthy man was looking forward to the end of his labours ; a few years before his own death he had lost his son, Henry Scougal, author of a book (*The Life of God in the Soul of Man*) which has had a remarkable history. At Edinburgh Lawrence Charteris, one of Leighton's preachers, resigned his professorial chair ; about eighty clergymen followed his example and gave up their livings ; many of these victims went to England. In the absence of Renwick, 1682 was not an eventful year, but we may note that in the autumn Lauderdale shuffled off the burden of his dishonoured life.

In the early months of 1683 the Whigs of England and Scotland, and the exiles in Holland, were discussing various plans :

Argyle spoke of a general rising against the Government; Monmouth was still a possible candidate for the throne; and there were darker schemes for the murder of the King and the Duke. In Scotland one Spence, an adherent of Argyle's, was tortured; he gave up the name of William Carstares, an able man, educated for the ministry, but now employed in the secret affairs of the opposition; he was the 'Mr. Red' of their cipher correspondence. Carstares was tortured, and gave evidence, on the condition that his testimony was not to be used against others. He had this assurance from James Drummond, soon to be Lord Melfort, one of the two brothers who were making their way to a high place among the King's advisers. Later in the year, when it came to the trial of Robert Baillie, a man whose high character and Whig sympathies rendered him obnoxious to Government, a summary of the evidence obtained by torture was used against him. Torture was no novelty in Scotland; the covenanting Parliament of 1649 had made rules implying that it was part of the regular procedure in certain criminal cases. In his legal writings George Mackenzie indicated some objections to the practice; as King's Advocate he used it freely; possibly the Council, the only tribunal which could direct and regulate the use of torture, would not have allowed him to refrain from using it. Nobody was likely to object on humanitarian grounds; most Scottish Christians approved the application of torture to Jesuits and reputed witches. The assertion that the Duke of York took pleasure in witnessing the infliction of torture is not supported by evidence, and is probably untrue.

Early in September Renwick was back among his friends. He had studied for a time at Groningen, and had obtained ordination there, the Dutch divines allowing him to sign the Westminster standards instead of their own formula. Against this ordination the Scottish ministers at Rotterdam felt bound to protest; during his brief career Renwick's difficulties were as often with his own people as with the enemies of presbytery. He found the Society-men eager to issue another declaration; at first he hung back, but, like all revolutionary leaders, he was constantly in danger of being set aside by men more

extreme than himself ; he drew up the *Apologetical Declaration and Admonitory Vindication against Intelligencers and Informers*, which was published in November 1684. In this manifesto the rebel party adhered to their declaration of war against the King, and claimed the right to try and punish all who assisted in the execution of the law ; judges, soldiers, and informers were all to be treated as beasts of prey. Some Covenanters were prepared to act on these principles : shortly after the Declaration two lifeguardsmen who came too near a conventicle were barbarously murdered. The Council consulted the judges, who advised that any subject person might be summoned to abjure the Declaration, in so far as it justified war against the King or the murder of his officers. No rational man could refuse to take an oath so limited ; but the Covenanters were not in a rational frame of mind ; they still looked for a victory which would enable them to make an end of malignants and sectaries.

In December, Peter Pierson, a conforming minister, suspected of assisting the King's officers, was murdered by a small party of Covenanters. On Christmas Eve Baillie of Jerviswood suffered for his principles at Edinburgh.

Among those who welcomed the *Apologetical Declaration* we may note the name of Alexander Shields, a ruddy little student, not much older than Renwick. He was in London, where he preached, and was employed as John Owen's amanuensis. Having dabbled in Whig politics, he was sent north for examination. Before his case was disposed of, King Charles died, reconciled at the last to the Church of Rome, and was buried with a pompous Anglican service ; King James was duly proclaimed. Shields, under the threat of torture, gave way and disowned all Declarations, in so far as they declared war against the King ; he spent the rest of his life in trying to atone for this 'fatal fall'. He afterwards wrote many pages of sophistry to prove that no Christian could take the abjuration oath.

Of the military men employed by Government, Claverhouse was the most active and efficient. He was an intelligent Protestant ; but he had accepted favours from the crown, and

he persuaded himself that James would respect the religion established in Scotland. The south and west were almost in a state of war; it is Claverhouse himself who uses the word 'almost'. Even on his wedding day, when he carried off Jean Cochrane from her covenanting relatives, Claverhouse had been obliged to hurry away from the ceremony, in search of conventiclers. On the 1st May 1685 he was riding from Lesmahagow in Lanarkshire to Muirkirk in Ayrshire with three troops of horse; at Priesthill, near the end of his journey, he came upon two men who made off across the moor. They were captured, and the elder of the two, John Brown, was questioned; 'he said he knew no king'; in his house were found bullets, match, and 'treasonable papers'. Claverhouse ordered him to be shot, 'which he suffered very unconcernedly'. A hole or cave was found, near the house, in which swords and pistols were concealed. The younger man, Brown's nephew, was handed over to military authority. On the following day two women were drowned at Wigton. On what charge they were tried, and how the recorded proceedings in the case are to be explained, cannot now be known. Apparently John Brown, Margaret Lauchlison, and Margaret Wilson all suffered for refusing to disown Renwick's Declaration, in so far as it justified rebellion and murder. But they gave their lives, as they believed, for Christ; their courage and self-sacrifice helped to carry Scotland through, not to the victory of the saints which they expected, but at least to a form of government under which a Christian man could live peaceably, without swallowing either the Test or the Declaration.

The unsuccessful invasions led by Argyle and Monmouth helped to strengthen the position of King James. His first Parliament in Scotland had re-enacted the Test, and declared the Covenants illegal, and the King began to press forward the policy he inherited from his brother; he would announce a toleration, in which Catholics could have a share, and in this way he would secure the support of the persecuted sections; Presbyterians and even Quakers might be brought to support the prerogative. The Scottish bishops were not unwilling to consider the abolition of sanguinary laws, but they were Protestants, easily alarmed by a popish king. In February

1686 Dr. Canaries, minister of Selkirk, a converted Papist, was brought to Edinburgh to preach a sermon against the errors of Rome. The King was angry, and insisted that Archbishop Cairncross of Glasgow should deal with the preacher. In March the primate (Ross) and Bishop Paterson went south to the King; they were ready to support his policy, on condition that the Protestant religion should be safeguarded; they suggested that the Act of 1669, asserting the royal prerogative, should be repealed. At the end of April, when Parliament met, the most important spokesmen of the King were the brothers Drummond; James, Earl of Perth, was Chancellor; John, Earl of Melfort, had secured the forfeited estate of Cessnock, and his titles were to be settled on the Catholic children of his second marriage. Both brothers had found reasons for adopting their royal master's religion. An Act was presented, embodying the King's idea of a toleration, but the bishops spoke against it, and it was withdrawn. The King took the line which had been taken by his grandfather in regard to the Articles of Perth; the Act was not necessary; he would do what was required by exercising his prerogative. Bishop Bruce of Dunkeld was deprived: this arbitrary act was undone at a later time, when Bruce was transferred to the bishopric of Orkney.

In January 1687 Cairncross was deprived for his conduct in the case of Dr. Canaries. In February the King issued a proclamation by which Presbyterians, Quakers, and Catholics were relieved from the penal laws; this was followed up by a proclamation, suspending all such laws. Many Presbyterians who had scrupled at the first proclamation came in and took advantage of the second; in the end of July the complying ministers met in Edinburgh and voted a loyal address, which they afterwards explained away. Renwick and the Society-men were not reconciled; they justified their resistance by arguments which would not now be thought valid, but they were, unconsciously, helping to secure the essentials of good government for their country. In December the abbey church at Holyrood was fitted up for some of the King's Jesuits; it was reported that they were teaching young people, printing books, and committing other offences.

Renwick did not live to be reconciled; he ventured into Edinburgh in January, was arrested on the 1st February, and hanged on the 17th. He was the last to suffer for covenanting principles; the 'killing time' was over, or almost over. On the 10th June a son was born to the King at St. James. This child, who lived to be known as the Old Pretender, was certainly the son of James and Mary of Modena, but for many years it was an article of Whig belief that the papist king had added to his many offences by palming off a fictitious heir to the crown. The story was circulated in time to help the Prince of Orange, who was about to repeat the adventure of Argyle and Monmouth, but this time with a reasonable hope of success. On the 5th November he landed at Torbay, and Carstares prayed for a blessing on his army.

The Revolution of 1688 was merely a change of dynasty, but the change marks a turning-point in our national history not less important than the Reformation. William of Orange, when he became King, was firm in asserting his prerogative, but he did not imagine that his prerogative entitled him to disregard the law, or to break his word. He was magnanimous, and could pass over offences personal to himself. He was a hereditary Calvinist and Presbyterian, but not a deeply religious man. He had learned from the example of the Great Elector, Frederick-William of Brandenburg, that subjects of different religions will be equally loyal to a government which respects their beliefs and usages. In the matter of Church government he was a latitudinarian; he knew how strong the Episcopalians were in Scotland; at this moment more than half the people, and most of the gentry, adhered to what had been for a quarter of a century the Established Church. As a statesman William saw the advantages of a closer union between the two kingdoms, in Church and State. If circumstances had permitted, he would have tried some plan of comprehension. The Scottish bishops prevented any such experiment by throwing in their lot with King James. Their decision was certainly not dictated by worldly wisdom, but it was consistent with the principles which they (and others) had professed.

Before the year was out, it was known that King James had

fled away to France. The chapel at Holyrood was wrecked, and on Christmas Day the earnest Presbyterians (often called Cameronians) rose in the west country, and a considerable number of the conforming clergy were turned out, with their wives and children. No lives were taken, but bands of rough men and ill-behaved women went about, insulting and ill-treating the unfortunate curates. These excesses were reported in England, and the clergy there were invited to consider what would happen to them if they united with Presbyterians.

In the opening of 1689 the Presbyterian ministers who accepted the new order of things held a meeting in Edinburgh ; they now explained that their address to King James did not bind them to any relaxation of the penal laws against Papists. On the 14th March the Estates met in convention ; Claverhouse, now Viscount Dundee, came also among them, but left when he found that his own party was outnumbered. The proceedings followed closely on the lines already laid down in England ; the crown was offered to William and Mary ; a Claim of Right was presented. The points of this Claim were voted unanimously, with one exception ; the article which declared that ' Prelacy and superiority of any office in the Church above Presbyters ' had been an insupportable grievance ' ever since the Reformation ', was carried by a majority. Ministers were directed to pray for the new King and Queen ; among those who were deprived for non-compliance we note the name of Andrew Cant, a grandson of him who had dictated to Charles I ; this Cant ultimately became a bishop. William and Mary accepted the crown, but, in taking the coronation oath, the King scrupled at the words which bound him to root out all heretics and enemies to the true worship of God ; he did not wish to be a persecutor. He was assured that the words were only matter of form ; when Morton took the oath on behalf of the infant James, Knox had not been of that opinion.

When the Estates met again as a Parliament in June, an Act was presented, abolishing prelacy, and empowering their majesties ' to settle the Presbyterian government in the way most agreeable to the inclinations of the people and the Word of God ', but before the Act was passed the word ' Presbyterian '

and the reference to the Word of God were omitted. William was bound by English law to be a member of the Church of England; he could not tell his fellow-members that their government was contrary to the Word of God. In the arrangements for the re-establishment of Presbytery, much assistance was given by the Earl of Crawford, a Presbyterian whose zeal was not weakened by the fact that his own revenues had been compiled by his predecessors out of the spoils of five bishoprics.

While Parliament debated, Dundee won Killiecrankie on the 27th July; he was mortally wounded in the moment of victory.

When Parliament met again, in April 1690, Lord Melville represented the King; the Assertory Act of 1669 was repealed, and on the following day the Westminster Confession of Faith was recorded as the faith of the restored Church; on the 7th June Presbyterian government was established, as in 1592. The thorny question of patronage was considered once more; Carstares, who knew what his party owed to the nobility, wished to retain the institution, but Lord Melville was against it. On the 19th July the rights of patrons were taken away; a small compensation was to be paid them; the heritors (landowners), being Protestants, and the elders were to present a minister to the congregation; if the people disapproved, the case might be taken to the presbytery, and on appeal to the Synod and Assembly. An Assembly was to meet in October; the ministers outed in 1661, now some sixty in number, were to be members, together with such ministers and elders as they might choose. The judges were forbidden to take a holiday at Christmas. The King hoped that Episcopalians in Scotland might be treated as indulgently as nonconformists had been treated in England; but Melville probably saw that this would raise a storm, and the proposal was not put forward. On comparing these provisions with previous legislation, we see that the significance of the new settlement turned chiefly on what was not included. Both Covenants were ignored; nothing was said of the period which began with the Glasgow Assembly and ended with Dunbar; no reference was made to the Word of God. We may be sure that the final decision, what to say and what not to say, rested with the King, and the result does great credit to his

political skill. He had to solve his Church problems in the midst of political cares and dangers ; this very year witnessed the formation of a Jacobite plot, so dangerous that it tempted William into an unfortunate decision. An English Catholic named Payne, an agent of the plot, came or was lured across the border ; he was carried to Edinburgh and tortured, but revealed nothing. He was tortured a second time, more severely, under an order signed by the King and countersigned by Lord Melville. Lord Crawford's embarrassed narrative shows that the practice of torture was falling into discredit. Payne was kept ten years in prison without trial.

In October the Assembly met as directed ; over 160 ministers and elders were present. Many of the members had been protesters ; there was some simmering dissatisfaction with the new settlement ; but nothing was said of the Covenants. Some of the ministers (Kirkton the historian, for example, and Fraser of Brea) must have found this unsatisfactory, but the impending Jacobite danger prevented open controversy. Private communion and baptism were forbidden ; so far as baptism was concerned this rule has been a good deal disregarded. Shields and two others, licensed to preach by the Society-men, were accepted as licentiates of the Established Church, and enjoined to walk orderly in time coming. Most Cameronians had no intention to walk orderly ; they thought the Covenants were still binding on the nation, but they were now only a remnant. To fill up Renwick's place they had sent a young man to obtain ordination at Emden ; they had been told that the authorities there were neither Erastians nor Cocceians. Of Erastus (Lieber) we have had occasion to speak ; Cocceius (Johann Koch) was a learned orientalist at Leyden who held that Hebrew texts ought to be interpreted according to their context, not according to the rules of any dogmatic system.

William's policy (for he, too, was something of an Erastian) brought him at once into conflict with the old claim of the Assembly. When the venerable house rose in 1690, the High Commissioner adjourned to a day which he named ; the Moderator, taking no notice of Lord Carmichael's intimation, adjourned to the same day ; this has been the practice in the

Established Church ever since. The Assembly of 1692 proved a little unmanageable, and was dissolved, the Moderator protesting on behalf of the 'spiritual intrinsic power' of the Church, and naming a day to which the house was adjourned. There was no Assembly in 1693, but Parliament passed an Act for settling the quiet and peace of the Church: no person was to be admitted or continued as a minister unless, having subscribed the oath of allegiance and the assurance (a declaration that William was king, not only in fact but of right), he accepted also the Confession of Faith and the Presbyterian settlement. This was not what the King intended; but to insist on a civil oath as a qualification for sitting in a Church court would have been imprudent; the King, yielding to his own imperious temper, or to the advice of others, sent off a peremptory dispatch, but Carstares arrived just in time to stop the King's messenger; he took the dispatch to William, and persuaded him to withhold it; the Assembly of 1694 passed without misadventure. In 1695 the Presbyterians obtained an Act of Parliament forbidding deprived ministers to baptize or marry. The usual expulsions and intrusions went on, but only at a moderate pace; in the north, in places where the Episcopalian minister was of one mind with his flock, the thunderbolts of the Kirk fell harmless. In 1700 George Garden, a friend of Henry Scougal, was dealt with by the Assembly for writing an Apology for Madame Bourignon, a French mystic whose writings obtained some currency in Scotland. After 1711 Bourignonism was among the errors which candidates for the ministry were required to disown; they went on disowning it long after most people had forgotten what it was.

The Assembly which met in December 1695 took note of the prevalence of infidel opinions, and in the following year a case arose which seemed to call for action. Thomas Aikenhead, a well-conducted student of nineteen, was uttering dangerous opinions among his friends; he thought the Old Testament was invented by Ezra, and he used sacred names in an offensively irreverent way. James Stewart, joint-author of *Naphtali*, was now Lord Advocate; he was a man of great legal ability, but his conduct of this case does not add to his reputation for

common sense. Aikenhead was tried, condemned, and hanged. There was some attempt to obtain a reprieve, but the ministers, perhaps with one or two exceptions, ' spoke and preached for cutting him off.'

In 1697 the Assembly passed the Barrier Act, under which an ' overture ' was to be sent down and discussed by presbyteries before it could be turned into an Act. The immediate object of the Barrier Act was to prevent the King from making use of a compliant Assembly to pass an Act admitting Episcopalians to the benefit of the Revolution settlement. Kirk-sessions were not included, as they had been in the Barrier Act of 1639.

CHAPTER XVIII

THE EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

On the 8th March 1702 King William died, and the Princess Anne came to the throne. She was a devoted member of the Church of England, attached to the prayer-book on which the Scottish book of Charles I was founded. The English book was being introduced in Episcopalian meeting-houses in Scotland; the Assembly thought this inconsistent with uniformity of worship; a chapel in Glasgow was attacked by a mob. Except on this point the Queen was out of sympathy with her co-religionists in the north; the bishops there were Jacobites, and they were now drawing together, planning to continue the episcopal succession, and emphasizing the higher points of their doctrine, much as the Non-jurors did in England. As to Papists, Anne was content that they should remain as they were; she renewed the offer of 500 merks for the capture of a priest or Jesuit, and allowed the penal laws to have their course. The Catholics now had a bishop *in partibus infidelium*, Thomas Nicholson. He found communities of his own faith in the highlands and islands; the priests who ministered to these outlying congregations lived very much as Peden and Cargill had lived in Galloway.

In 1703 Scotland was electing the representative members of her last national Parliament; the Presbyterians were so far successful that the position of the Established Church was for the moment safe. There were some doubts about the future, for it was Anne's intention to carry through King William's project of a closer union between England and Scotland. We may admit now that the Union was inevitable, but it was very unpopular at the time. In trying to remove objections to this measure Anne was greatly assisted by Carstares, now the Principal of Edinburgh University, and as important as any man in Scotland. Every effort was used to conciliate the

Presbyterians ; the Act of Security provided that the existing constitution of the Church of Scotland should continue ' without any alteration in time to come ' ; every sovereign on accession was to swear that he would maintain and preserve it. An unalterable constitution would be regarded by any modern Church or State as an intolerable grievance, but in the kingdom of Great Britain the sovereign authority is the King in Parliament ; both judges and statesmen refuse to set limits to the power of Parliament to alter anything it thinks wrong. In the year of the Union the Assembly noted that innovations were being introduced, ' contrary to our known principle, which is, that nothing is to be admitted in the worship of God but what is prescribed in the Holy Scriptures.' In spite of this warning, James Greenshields, a Scotsman who had been a curate in Ireland, opened a chapel at Edinburgh and used the English book. The presbytery forbade him to preach ; the magistrates put him into prison, until he should give security to desist from his ministry ; the Court of Session upheld the magistrates. On appeal to the House of Lords that tribunal gave judgment for Greenshields, with expenses.

Soon after this decision Carstares and another minister were in London, to protest against two Bills which threatened the unalterable constitution of the Presbyterian Church. In the Toleration Bill it was proposed to repeal the Act of 1695, and to grant toleration to episcopal ministers who took the oaths to Government. Gilbert Burnet, now a bishop, argued against this in the House of Lords ; he maintained that the Presbyterians had been promised uniformity as an essential condition of the Union. In the Patronage Bill it was proposed to restore the rights of patrons, on the allegation that the mode of appointing ministers introduced in 1690 had led to heats and disturbances. This very unwise alteration of the law was promoted by Jacobites and Tories, who wished to make mischief ; five Anglican bishops voted against it, but both Bills were passed. The Christmas holiday of the law-courts was restored ; the first Parliament of King George once more abolished the ' popish festival ', but it seems to have come back without the leave of the Kirk.

At the end of July 1714 Queen Anne lay dying; early on Sunday the 1st August the Bishop of Salisbury (Gilbert Burnet) went to Kensington to inquire. In Smithfield he met his friend Mr. Bradbury, Independent minister, who was ruefully considering the possibility of a Stewart succession; Burnet promised to send him news. On his arrival at the palace the Bishop found that the Queen had passed away. Politically speaking, all had gone well for the Whigs; King George was to be proclaimed at once. When Bradbury announced this from the pulpit the congregation burst into thanksgiving and praise. Deputations came from Scotland to congratulate the new King. The ministers who attended had the opportunity of calling on the Bishop, who discussed religious matters, spoke highly of William Guthrie of Fenwick, and gave a gilt copy of *The Christian's Great Interest* to each member of the deputation. On a subsequent Sunday some Scottish lords took supper with Burnet; we remember how, long ago, 'the Duke' had supped on Sunday with Mr. Knox. Burnet spoke of points in the Anglican system which he would fain see altered; but the work, he said, was hindered because the Church of England was divided. The High Churchmen wished to ruin the dissenters, the Low Churchmen wished to retain them; 'and there it stands.'

Before the end of Anne's reign, Webster of Edinburgh, a fervid Calvinist, called attention to the teaching of John Simson, Professor of Divinity at Glasgow. So far as we can make out, Simson was a well-meaning man, easily influenced by the books he read. The chief error of which he was accused at this stage was that he 'attributed too much to nature'. In the year of Webster's attack a son was born to one Rousseau, watchmaker at Geneva; this son, Jean Jacques, was destined to carry the gospel of nature to conclusions not dreamed of in the philosophy of any Scottish Whig. The case against Simson hung on till 1717, when the Assembly recorded a cautious deliverance; the Professor had vented some unnecessary opinions, used some unfamiliar expressions; he was prohibited from teaching or preaching such opinions. At the same Assembly the presbytery of Auchterarder was dealt with for

requiring a candidate to sign the proposition that ' it is not sound or orthodox to teach that we must forsake sin in order to our coming to Christ '. This is perhaps not a happy way of expressing the Christian doctrine of grace, and, in making a new test, the presbytery exceeded its powers. The mild censure on Simson did not satisfy the orthodox, and a group of ministers drew together in defence of the faith as they understood it. Of this group the oldest member was Thomas Boston, who had spent his life in the pastoral parishes of Simprin and Ettrick. Overcoming difficulties such as the modern student can hardly realize, Boston had made himself a scholar and a theologian ; he was also a noted preacher. One day at Simprin he went into the cottage of a parishioner who had been in the English wars, and saw there two little brown volumes, one of which turned out to be the *Marrow of Modern Divinity*, a treatise written by some English Independent in the days before Independency had come into power. It is not easy for a layman to be sure, but I am disposed to say that the *Marrow* is neither Antinomian nor otherwise heretical. The book expressed the beliefs of extreme Calvinists, and it came to light at a time when those beliefs were being undermined. With Boston of Ettrick were Hog of Carnock, Ebenezer Erskine of Stirling, Ralph Erskine of Dunfermline, and others. In 1718 Hog reprinted Part First of the *Marrow* ; in 1720 the Commission of Assembly, Principal Hadow of St. Andrews in the chair, found six ' Antinomian paradoxes ' in the work ; a Representation was drawn up by twelve ministers (the apostles, as they were called) ; the Commission of Assembly posed the twelve with twelve questions, and the Marrow-men went on preaching as before. In 1722, when the Assembly refused to receive a protest, there was a thunderstorm in the afternoon ; as in 1621 this was deemed to be a token of Divine displeasure.

Before the Marrow question was out of the way Professor Simson was again in trouble. He had studied Samuel Clarke's *Scripture Doctrine of the Trinity*, a work of an Arian tendency. These party names are used by divines in a somewhat elusive way, but we may take it that in the eighteenth century the

name of Arian indicated one who believed in the divinity, but not in the deity, of our Lord. Simson thought, rightly or wrongly, that in Scotland Arianism was not dangerous; the tendency seemed rather towards Sabellianism, and he had framed his teaching accordingly. Whatever he said was twisted against him in argument; his students were encouraged to give their possibly inaccurate versions of his lectures. He had lectured, as the custom then was, in Latin; this was found so embarrassing that after Simson's time the lectures were in English. Finally, the poor man lapsed into ill health; his mind was affected, and he babbled of the Fathers and the Councils.

In 1726 the Glasgow presbytery was busy with Simson; James Erskine (Lord Grange) was one of the committee who sat on the case. The career of this eminent man indicates that Hadow's anxiety about Antinomianism was not unreasonable. Grange was an evangelical, and used the current phrases of emotional piety; in private life he was a profligate; he carried through at least one crime of some magnitude, when he arranged to have his wife abducted, carried to the north, and ultimately lodged in St. Kilda. His library was rich in books on demonology; he heard with alarm that many in England were prepared to abolish the laws against witchcraft. In 1728 Simson abjured the errors imputed to him, but his opponents did not relax their efforts; in 1729 he was finally suspended from teaching: the Marrow-men thought he should be deposed and deprived of his salary. For eleven years he continued to draw his salary, and no arrangement was made to supply his place. It may be doubted whether any Church has devised a satisfactory mode of trying heresy cases; the Church of Scotland in the eighteenth century was certainly not successful.

It is interesting to note that the prevailing unrest was not limited to the Established Church. The Church of Rome found opportunity to condemn Jansen and Quesnel. Among Episcopalians there was a difference of opinion as to certain usages introduced into the Communion Service: of these the most important was 'commemoration of the faithful

departed'. The College of Bishops opposed the usages, and parties were formed. Aberdeen, usually fortunate in her bishops, was for twelve years under the pastoral oversight of James Gadderar, who did much to compose the strife between collegers and usagers. This good man and his brother had been among the curates 'rabbled out' at the Revolution.

Ever since its enactment the Patronage Act had been a cause of difficulty, and after 1730 the difficulty was serious. In a parish threatened with an unpopular presentee, a crowd would turn out to prevent his induction; civil and even military force had to be displayed. When the ministers of a presbytery were of the popular party they refused to carry out the settlement. In 1729 the Assembly appointed a committee to 'concur' with a recalcitrant presbytery in effecting a settlement; these riding committees, as they were called, were in use for twenty years. The enemies of patronage embarrassed their argument by objecting to a number of things which they had no power to alter. They objected to toleration, the only feasible basis of a modern State; they regarded the union with England as a national sin; they were solemnly convinced that the laws against witchcraft must be retained.

In 1732 the Assembly enacted that, where the patron failed to present, and the right of presentation devolved on the presbytery, the procedure of 1690 should be followed. There was some disputation as to the use made of the Barrier Act on this occasion; what was more important was, that the minority asserted the 'right' of the congregation to elect their minister. In October Ebenezer Erskine preached to the synod of Perth and Stirling on toleration and patronage; the synod, by a majority, censured the sermon. In May 1733, Ebenezer was formally rebuked at the bar of the Assembly; he wished to read a protest, signed by himself and three others; the Assembly refused, but the paper was left lying about; an untimely minister called attention to its language, and the four were ordered to retract; on refusing to do this they were, in August, suspended, and in November 'loosed from their charges'. On the 6th December they met at Gairney Bridge near Kinross, and constituted themselves into an 'associate

presbytery '. Ralph Erskine was present, but did not join in this act; the Seceders issued a Testimony containing some fanciful history and some impracticable politics. The spring communion of 1734 was made the occasion of an assemblage of their supporters; the Assembly was alarmed, and endeavoured to undo what it had done: the inconveniences of patronage were now so obvious that in 1735 a deputation went to London asking for its abolition; but the great landowners persuaded Government that their patronage enabled them to influence the Church in favour of law and order.

In 1735 Parliament, now mainly an English body, abolished the laws against witchcraft. Lord Grange was so eager to prevent this 'national sin' that he resigned his place on the bench in order to enter the House of Commons; but his argument, when he addressed the house, was received with laughter, and he effected nothing. 1736 was the year of the Porteous riot at Edinburgh; the incident had nothing directly to do with religion, but some ministers seem to have preached imprudent sermons. When Parliament meted out what was thought an appropriate punishment, parish ministers were required to read the Act from the pulpit; this was resented as an attempt to dictate in spiritual matters, and a few ministers joined the seceders. The Assembly had not given up the hope of bringing the dissenters back, but in 1739 they appeared at the bar as a presbytery, and declined the jurisdiction, as the bishops had done in 1638. In 1740 they were deposed.

On reviewing the results of their action we can see now that by leaving a Church whose standards and form of government they approved, they did no great service to the cause which they had at heart. It is partly to the Seceders that we owe the long ascendancy of 'moderatism' in the national Church. In the Assembly parties were often evenly balanced; when we read of keen debates and close divisions, we cannot but reflect that the Seceders, if they had been there, might have turned the scale. In parishes throughout the country, wherever a group of evangelicals were dissatisfied with the teaching of a moderate minister, they could write to Mr. Ebenezer for 'supply of sermon'; a preacher would be sent; a grey stone

building would be erected to hold him ; in this way the movement spread rapidly. In 1741 the Seceders were brought into contact with Whitefield, who spent part of the year in Scotland. They wished him to preach to their people only, and Ralph Erskine (who was by this time a Seceder) told him that *they* were ' the Lord's people in Scotland '. Whitefield intimated that he had come to preach to the devil's people ; he would preach in St. Peter's at Rome if the Pope would give him leave. The doubts implanted in their minds were strengthened when the English preacher came again in 1742, to take part in revival work at Cambuslang. Some thought this work an outpouring of the Spirit ; the Seceders denounced it as a delusion of Satan ; Whitefield, they said, was an ' idolater ' and the minister of an idolatrous Church. By 1744 the Secession was a synod of three presbyteries ; but at the first meeting of synod two presbyteries asked for inquiry as to the terms of the burgess-oath which was taken by office-holders in Edinburgh, Glasgow, and Perth. Could a Christian man ' profess and allow the true religion presently professed within this realm ' ; was not the religion of the realm merely an Erastian compromise ? Before the question could be answered, the friends of the Protestant succession had to stop fighting among themselves ; on the 10th August 1745 Charles Edward unfurled the standard of King James at Glenfinnan. The Seceders volunteered in such numbers that there was some talk of forming them into a regiment ; even Mr. Ebenezer appeared in uniform. At the same moment William Robertson was carrying a musket in the Edinburgh Volunteers : thus the house of Hanover brought together men whom religion had failed to reconcile. In April 1746, after Culloden, the danger of a Jacobite restoration was over, and the Government troops were free to march about destroying Catholic and Episcopalian chapels. It would have been difficult to make the legal position of Catholics worse than it was ; their priests could be hunted down and imprisoned or banished under the penal laws. The Episcopalians were also treated as enemies of Government ; Acts were passed under which they could not legally officiate unless they obtained English or Irish orders.

These Acts were largely successful in their operation; under the system now introduced the Episcopal Church became 'the shadow of a shade'.

When the country was settling down the Seceders went on with their controversy about the burgess-oath. In April 1747 the Associate Synod met at Edinburgh; it is impossible to give a short account of the proceedings, but in the end the opponents of the oath retired; they resolved that they (the Antiburghers) *were* the Associate Synod; no presbytery was lawful unless it was in subordination to *them*: they regarded the Erskines as rebels against the true Church, and 'handed them over to Satan'. These transactions were carried through at the house of Adam Gib, a formidable debater who led the Antiburghers, so far as these conscientious men could see their way to let anybody lead. The contest which ensued was extremely bitter. Families were broken up: John Erskine conducted the devotions of the Antiburghers when his father, Ralph Erskine, was deposed and excommunicated. Ebenezer's daughter Ailie was the wife of a minister who became an Antiburgher; she 'lifted her Bible', and rode fourteen miles on Sunday to the nearest church of her father's persuasion. Where a congregation was divided, the minority refused to give up the meeting-house; at this point begins the long course of litigation which has rendered it necessary for civil courts to define the principles of our non-established Churches, sometimes with startling results. As for the literature of the question, it is not easy in a short compass to give any notion of its volume or its misdirected vigour. I am disposed to say that the Antiburghers excelled in logic, the Burghers in common sense. The two branches of the Secession were not the only dissenting Presbyterians. In 1743 John Macmillan, after a long career of ecclesiastical adventures, found there was one minister in Scotland with whom he could unite; he and Thomas Nairn became a 'reformed presbytery', but they separated on a point of doctrine. In 1752 six ministers of the presbytery of Dunfermline were dealt with for refusing to settle an unpopular presentee; the Assembly resolved to depose one of the six; the one selected was Thomas Gillespie;

after a time he joined with Thomas Boston, son of the old Boston; they founded a 'presbytery of relief'. Outside the Presbyterian pale were the followers of John Glas; when this worthy man was joined by his son-in-law Robert Sandeman, a number of small communities were formed, each trying to guide itself by the letter of the New Testament. One of their institutions was a common meal, the Agape of the early Church under Scottish conditions; the common people called them 'Kailites'. The continuous existence of these bodies is enough to prove that toleration had, in practice, made some progress; but in 1753 John Skinner, author of *A Preservation against Presbytery* (and of *Tullochgorum*), was sent to prison for preaching to an audience of more than four in his own house. John Wesley visited Scotland in 1751 and subsequent years, but made no marked impression on the people. He was an Arminian: worse than that, he was an Oxford graduate who spoke of the Scottish reformers as 'sour, overbearing, passionate men'.

In view of these divisive tendencies the supporters of the Established Church drew together; at a critical time they obtained a leader in whom they could have entire confidence. In 1762 William Robertson became Principal of Edinburgh University; in the following year he was Moderator of the Assembly. His fame as a historian reflected credit on his Church; his practical ability proved him the successor of Henderson and Carstares. He was strictly orthodox, and disliked the lax theology expounded from some 'moderate' pulpits. In estimating his work we must beware of those modern books which disparage Robertson as a kind of nominal Christian. If respect for the beliefs of others be a Christian virtue, he deserves a high place in our religious history. In regard to patronage, he stood by the law of the Church. He would protect any congregation against a heretical or immoral presentee; but the 'evangelical' claim could only have been met by giving the people either the right of election or at the least the 'veto without reasons' which was claimed at a later stage of the controversy, and Robertson encouraged no such aspiration. Where a local presbytery was recalcitrant, he

brought the matter to a simple issue; if a presbytery may disobey the Assembly, what becomes of Presbyterianism? The evangelicals pleaded that they should not be punished for disobeying 'an Assembly of fallible men'.

Under Robertson's guidance the Church coasted round certain issues which might have been dangerous. In 1755 Hume's *Essay on Miracles* was discussed, and there was some talk of dealing with that placid sceptic; the Assembly contented itself with a general deliverance on infidelity, and declined to exercise discipline: Hume was left sitting peaceably outside the fold, and cultivating friendship with those within. In 1756 the tragedy of *Douglas* was performed at an Edinburgh theatre; some Established Church ministers asserted their right to attend. There was much disputation about this, the champions on the side of 'liberty' being John Home of Athelstaneford, the author of the play, and Alexander Carlyle of Inveresk, a fine type of Scottish manhood, often selected as a typical 'moderate', because of the wholly secular tone of his amusing autobiography. Feeling ran so high that Robertson himself was accused of having taken part in the rehearsal; he never even saw the play, having promised his dead father that he would not go to theatres. Again the Assembly gave a general deliverance, and the chief culprits were protected against punishment. These two cases are significant; they show that wise men were beginning to see that the discipline of the Church is for her own members, and that, even in the case of ministers, it should not be pressed too far. Among dissenters also there were movements towards liberty. The Burghers were never a subversive people; but John Brown, their minister at Haddington, published an easy explanation of the Confession of Faith, in which Antiburgher critics detected some error. But the Antiburghers themselves were moving. They knew of course that George II was not a covenanted king, but in 1759, when Moncrieff proposed to remind the King of his duty, Adam Gib interposed an objection. Modern writers say he explained the Covenants in a 'voluntary' sense. In 1763 they voted £50 in aid of a mission to Red Indians; this was movement in the right direction, for the Protestant Churches

had been too busy fighting to do much for foreign missions. Antiburghers would not co-operate with Burghers, even so far away as the colony of New York.

In 1766 the Assembly considered the report of a committee appointed to consider the growth and the causes of dissent; there were now 120 meeting-houses, attended by 100,000 persons: the abuse of patronage was named among the causes of secession. The reference to patronage was struck out by a vote of 99 to 85. Robertson had great influence with patrons and ministers; he was satisfied with the working of patronage as an institution; he knew that any proposal to innovate would be defeated in London. He may have thought the Secession useful as an outlet for the less tractable Presbyterians. His leadership secured a period of comparative peace and quiet.

There were at this time some twenty to thirty thousand Roman Catholics in Scotland, and the penal laws were still in force, tempered only by some laxity in administration. Besides being excluded from the franchise and public office, Catholics were under rules which prevented them from exercising ordinary civil rights. Thus, the heir to an estate, on attaining the age of fifteen, might be required to profess himself a Protestant; if he refused, his inheritance went to the nearest Protestant heir who would claim it. Fathers were fined for sending their children to be educated abroad; a father whose son went abroad and became a Catholic was forbidden to send him money, except for the purpose of returning to Scotland. To harbour a Catholic, to refuse attendance at a Protestant service, to argue in favour of Roman doctrines—these were offences involving confiscation of goods. The avowed object of this merciless code was to keep the adherents of the old Church in poverty, ignorance and subjection. In England eloquent voices were raised on behalf of Catholics, and in 1778 an Act was passed, relieving them of some of their disabilities; an Association was formed in London to procure the repeal of this Act; the chairman was Lord George Gordon, an eccentric young man who had left the Navy because he could not get the command of a ship. In Scotland the Assembly

took notice of the alarming progress of popery; the synod of Glasgow and Ayr appointed a fast; Protestant zeal was roused to fury by the announcement that a Bill for the relief of Scottish Catholics would be introduced by the Lord Advocate. On the Sunday after the synod meeting a private house where Glasgow Catholics were meeting for worship was wrecked and rifled. An Englishman named Bagnall, a manufacturer in the city, allowed the expelled congregation to meet in his house. At the opening of February 1779 the Edinburgh mob attacked and burned a new chapel. George Hay, the Catholic Bishop, was out of town at the moment; he returned to find his chapel surrounded by crowds of people. When he asked what was going on, an old woman told him that they were burning the popish chapel; they only wished they had the Bishop, to throw him into the fire. Robertson had used all his influence to stem the tide of intolerance; he was charged with being a pensioner of the Pope and a tool of the Government in London. His house was attacked; his evangelical and anti-popish colleague, Dr. John Erskine, tried to persuade the mob to retire; the dragoons rode up just in time. A week later the house and warehouse of Mr. Bagnall were burned at Glasgow. These demonstrations were successful for the moment; the threatened Bill was dropped; it was not revived for fourteen years. The Assembly of 1779 recorded a resolution asserting the inexpediency and the danger of repealing the penal laws. Robertson resigned his position as leader of the dominant party; at this crisis he found himself out of sympathy with many earnest Protestants. He disliked the theology expounded by some members of his party, and feared that they would move to abolish subscription to the Confession of Faith. His firm stand against intolerance is the last and the most memorable incident of his leadership. He was succeeded by Dr. George Hill of St. Andrews.

A new voice was beginning to be heard in the west; Robert Burns was writing verses, sentimental or satirical, which ultimately made him a power in the land. It is well known that Burns championed 'liberal' ideas in Church matters; it may be useful to note how these ideas found entrance to his

mind. In 1730, just after Simson was suspended, Francis Hutcheson came from Ireland to teach philosophy at Glasgow. His eloquent lectures attracted many disciples, but they suggested a more hopeful view of society and human nature than the current Calvinism could accept. There were also Englishmen who exercised freedom in discussing 'orthodox' beliefs; of these we may name John Taylor, a Presbyterian minister at Norwich—Presbyterian in the English sense of the word. In 1740 Taylor published an essay on the *Scripture Doctrine of Original Sin*, in which the proof-texts of our Shorter Catechism are handled in a manner which the Westminster divines would have condemned. He also published a catechism of his own, which obtained a wide circulation. William Burnes or Burns, a gardener near Alloway Kirk, wrote out a manual for his children in which notions derived from Taylor and Hutcheson were stated in simple language. In his early manhood Robert Burns came upon a volume of sermons by Taylor's colleague, Samuel Bourn; he admired the book so much that he almost had it by heart.

At this time the town church of Ayr was occupied by two preachers of the 'new light': Dalrymple, a man of simple and amiable character, and McGill, who was also much respected by his flock. In 1786 McGill published a *Practical Essay on the Death of Christ*, to which the orthodox took objection; Dalrymple followed with a *History of Christ*: both writers were evidently influenced by the men who were leading the English Presbyterians in the direction of Unitarianism. McGill was accused of heresy; Burns plunged into the fray; his reckless satires, to which the Rev. Hugh Blair contributed a friendly criticism or so, are now the most conspicuous memorial of the controversy.

In 1788 the centenary of our decorous Revolution was duly honoured; Robertson, a liberal-minded man, was full of hope for the world, and especially for France. There was some unrest among the people; in the west especially it became plain that no adequate spiritual provision had been made for the large population called into existence by new industries. The popular party had failed in two attempts to raise the

patronage question in the Assembly. As the movement in France went on there was a division of opinion among Scottish sympathizers, some clinging to the hope that a new era of peace and justice was coming in, others settling down into hopeless distrust of anything that savoured of democracy. At this juncture it was very desirable that laws which belonged to the old days of persecution should disappear from the statute-book. In 1792 the disabilities of the Episcopalians were removed. Their Jacobitism was now only a sentiment; Charles Edward was dead, and 'Henry IX' was a Cardinal at Rome. In 1793 Principal Robertson passed away; before his death he had the satisfaction of knowing that a bill for the relief of Catholics was on the point of being passed. The Catholics had lost their college at Paris during the Revolution; they were a poor community, quite unable to provide for their clergy. Dundas arranged that they should have some assistance from Government funds; this transaction was so secret that even lay Catholics knew nothing of it. The subsidy was paid till 1805.

Robert Haldane, a country gentleman of good family, had been excited, and then disappointed, by the course of affairs in France; he fell back on the evangelistic work to which the rest of his life was devoted. He and his brother James were much indebted to David Bogue, a Berwickshire man and an Independent minister, settled in England, one of the founders of the London Missionary Society (1795), the Religious Tract Society (1799), and the Bible Society (1804). Both the Haldanes were eager to carry the gospel to the heathen, at home and abroad. Robert would have sunk his fortune in a mission to India, but this project was stopped by the East India Company; the directors doubted, and had reason to doubt, their power to protect Christian missionaries, if they settled in Bengal. In their work at home the brothers took little account of organized religious bodies; they went up and down the country preaching, and building meeting-houses; they distributed tracts, and this at first was a cause of trouble; the people had come to associate that form of appeal with the name of Thomas Paine, deist and democrat. In 1796 associations

were being formed in aid of foreign missions; Dr. John Erskine took part in the work; he now had the powerful assistance of a younger minister, Sir Henry Moncreiff. When the Assembly met, there were overtures asking the Established Church to co-operate; Dr. Hill was cold and critical; the overtures were rejected by 58 to 44, and a colourless resolution was passed.

The Seceders were not quite prepared to make common cause with the Haldanes; the Antiburghers testified against lay preaching, which in their opinion had no warrant from the Word of God. Even as to foreign missions there were difficulties: was it 'lawful' to sit on the same platform with Baptists, Independents, and the like? In the last few years of the century both branches of the Secession were rent asunder by a controversy about Church and State. Good men in both had a 'new light', not of the McGill variety. They began to think that those passages of the Confession of Faith which invite the civil magistrate to put down heresy were 'Erastian' in their tendency. This criticism was well founded; Knox and Henderson were both Erastians; both used the civil sword to make a way for the truth, as they understood it; both paid the price which the Church must always pay when she aims at political power. In both synods the 'new light' party outnumbered their opponents: the result was seen in a series of schisms and recombinations. Where a congregation was divided, both parties laid claim to the building in which they met; litigation arose, and the successful party used civil and sometimes military force in making good its rights. The details of these proceedings may be reserved for the nineteenth century.

In their evangelistic work the Haldanes were assisted by English friends: they brought Rowland Hill from the Surrey Chapel to help them, but this eccentric preacher was not very successful in Scotland; he formed an unfavourable opinion of all our contending Churches. In 1796 James Haldane made one of his tours in company with Charles Simeon, a quiet Cambridge don who exercised a remarkable influence over the evangelical party in the Church of England. The Episcopalians

were a little shy of him, and he was not wholly in agreement with his Presbyterian friends. Like all English churchmen, Simeon was greatly attached to the Book of Common Prayer ; ' if all men could pray always as some men pray sometimes ', he might have been content with the Scottish way ; men and ministers being what they were, he preferred his own. These invasions led the Established Church to look more narrowly to her defences. The Assembly of 1799 enacted that only preachers licensed by a presbytery should be qualified to accept a call or presentation : ministers were forbidden to employ or hold communion with unqualified persons.

Before leaving the eighteenth century we may note some figures which illustrate the progress of the non-established religious bodies. Burghers and Antiburghers now numbered 55,000 each ; the Relief 36,000 ; the Reformed Presbyterians about 4,000. Sectaries (Methodist, Independent, and Baptist) were also about 4,000.

CHAPTER XIX

THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

At the opening of the new century the Haldanes were standing forward as the heads of an Independent community. Robert built the tabernacle in Leith Walk, and James was ordained the first minister. Two ministers left the establishment to join them; they also secured the adherence of Ralph Wardlaw, a Burgher student, converted to Congregationalist principles by Dr. George Campbell's able defence of Presbyterianism. In 1804 the Episcopalians emphasized their connexion with the Church of England by adopting the Thirty-nine Articles. Some thought the new formula inadequate as regarded the sacraments, but Alexander Jolly, Bishop of Moray, defended the work of the English reformers, pointing out that they had guarded against the 'corrupt sacrifice of the Mass' without committing themselves to the Zwinglian doctrine. In the same year the Antiburghers began to revise their Testimony, in accordance with the 'new light'. A few ministers held back, and the dissentients were soon numerous enough to set up the Constitutional Associate Synod: of this group the most eminent member was Thomas M'Crie, already deep in the studies which enabled him to write his biographies of Knox and Melville. M'Crie was not a 'voluntary'; he thought there was a valid argument for Church establishments, and for the 'Protestant constitution of the country'. His own congregation was evenly divided; the Antiburgher synod resolved to turn the 'constitutional' party out. After prolonged litigation they succeeded; in the last stage of the dispute, police and military assistance was invoked. M'Crie was deposed, excommunicated, and forcibly evicted by men who agreed with him, except on one point. The Burghers were passing through difficulties of the same kind. Their chapel at Perth had been built for W. Wilson, one of the four who kept

the pass at Gairney Bridge, and it remained in possession of the Burghers, until the 'new light' dawned. Jarvie, the senior minister, took the same line as M'Crie was taking among the Antiburghers; his colleague Aikman and a majority of members accepted the 'new light'. Craigdallie, one of the trustees, resisted Aikman's claim to possession. This case lasted more than twenty years, and went more than once to the House of Lords, then governed, in all judicial matters, by Lord Eldon. In the Scottish courts divers opinions were expressed; some thought the majority of the congregation should decide as to the building they occupied; others held that the party remaining in communion with the Burgher synod had a valid claim; Lord Eldon suggested a new ground of decision. If the Burgher society had been based on a clearly expressed contract, the courts, he thought, would have been guided by its terms. If, for example, the synod had been empowered to alter the Burgher formula, in case new light should be vouchsafed them, the case would have presented little difficulty. But the contract was obscure; it was not certain that the synod could alter the testimony of the Church. This being so, a court of justice had to ask: (1) What were the original principles of the society? (2) Was it proved that Aikman had departed from these principles, and so forfeited his interest in the property? After prolonged inquiry the Court of Session found nothing to show that either new lights or old had departed from their original principles. Lord Eldon accepted this finding; at the close of the case, he was not certain that it had been thoroughly understood, either in the Scottish courts or in the House of Lords.

The principle of *Craigdallie* v. *Aikman* was applied in subsequent cases; it was applied in 1904 on a scale which would have astonished the simple Burghers of 1800. Apart from the legal problem, the practical lesson of the case may be shortly stated. When good people set up a new Church in Scotland they are not usually in a mood to make the legal position quite safe. They write able manifestoes, putting themselves in the right, and their opponents in the wrong; but they leave the powers of their governing body undefined; they take no

account of the probability, one might almost say the certainty, that in time they will change their opinions. When the time comes, their synod or assembly assumes that it has power to do what it thinks right: the civil courts do not always agree.

In 1805 the old lights formed the synod of Original Burghers, with fifteen ministers. In 1808 the Haldanes became Baptists, and there was some confusion in that quarter. In 1811 M'Crie published his life of Knox; it was followed, eight years later, by his biography of Andrew Melville. The appearance of these books must be noted as an event in our ecclesiastical history; they gave form and content to the aspirations of those Presbyterians who cherished high notions of the independence of the Church. Melville's theory of the 'two kingdoms' took possession of many minds.

Since their failure to raise the question of patronage, the evangelical or popular party in the Assembly had been of little account. They now showed signs of reviving energy; their coming leader was a man who might give them the victory over the moderates who ruled the Established Church. Thomas Chalmers, an alumnus of St. Andrews, had been settled in 1803 as minister of Kilmany, a rural parish in Fife. He gave most of his time to mathematics, physics, and political economy; his calculation was that he could get through his ministerial duties in two days of the week. But in 1810 he underwent a change of mind, which was also a change of heart. The gospel which he preached, eloquently but unimpressively, became the centre of his thinking and the heart of his efforts: almost at a bound he became the first preacher in Scotland. In 1815 he left Kilmany for Glasgow; he now had full scope for ideas of social reform which had taken shape in his mind. As an economist, Chalmers disliked the English plan of making a legal provision for the poor; the causes of poverty, he thought, were moral, not merely economical; in the parochial system of his own Church he discovered an agency which might be used to elevate the depressed classes by personal influence and help. His success was so remarkable that we cannot but regret his withdrawal from the scene of action, but

after eight years he found his work too heavy, and went to be Professor of Moral Philosophy at St. Andrews; in 1828 he became Professor of Theology at Edinburgh.

While Chalmers was in the middle of his Glasgow labours, the new lights in both sections of the Secession were discovering that the testimonies of 1747 were now out of date. A basis of union was found, and in 1820 Burghers and Antiburghers came together and formed the United Secession. At the time of union the Burghers had 139 ministers, the Antiburghers 123. Some recalcitrant Burghers joined the 'constitutional' group and became the United Original Seceders. John Brown, a Burgher minister (grandson of the author of the *Self-interpreting Bible*, and father of him who wrote *Rab and his Friends*), tried unsuccessfully to obtain a modification of some phrases in the Westminster standards; he objected, for instance, to the statement that presbytery is the only form of Church government sanctioned by the Word of God.

During the first quarter of the nineteenth century the number of Catholics in Scotland was rapidly increased by the immigration of Irish labourers. Whig-Liberals had long been agitating for the removal of Catholic disabilities; in 1829 a Tory Government was constrained to grant this demand. Though a Tory in his general politics, Chalmers came forward as an advocate of emancipation. His speech on the subject, delivered at a meeting in Edinburgh, was one of his most triumphant efforts; the kindling excitement of the speaker laid hold of his audience, until men rose to their feet, as if impatient to follow him into action. His main argument was, that the removal of disabilities would set Protestants free to combat the claims of the Pope with the 'plain, printed Bible' for their weapon.

In 1828 Thomas Erskine of Linlathen, a cultured country gentleman, published a book on the *Freeness of the Gospel*; Chalmers read it with delight, but shook his head over some of its doctrinal statements. About the same time the stricter Calvinists of the parish of Row complained that their minister, John McLeod Campbell, was teaching the 'universality' of the Atonement; a younger man, A. J. Scott, was involved in

the same suspicion. These movements connected themselves vaguely with the career of Edward Irving, who passed through a phase of unbounded popularity in London, and then plunged into speculations which carried him beyond the limits of what most people in Scotland thought permissible: he was ultimately deposed by the presbytery of Annan, and the Assembly upheld the judgment. In his own country Irving was known as an occasional preacher, so eloquent that business men would come out at five on a summer morning to hear him. Campbell's case came to its final stage at the Assembly of 1831; his friends complained that the case was being hurried, and that the law of the Church was strained against him. Chalmers has been blamed for not coming to his aid, but Chalmers was to be the Moderator of the next year; he was overwhelmed with work, and had not time to master the voluminous evidence laid before the Church courts. Before Campbell met his fate, his friend A. J. Scott had been deposed by the presbytery of Paisley, but his English flock at Woolwich disregarded the authority of that court; Scott remained a minister among them until he began his distinguished career as a University teacher.

Among the new-light Seceders the 'voluntary' principle was developed in a series of books and pamphlets. Dr. Heugh, the leader of the United Secession, championed the cause, and in 1829 Andrew Marshall of Kirkintilloch preached a sermon which started a controversy; he was answered by Dr. Andrew Thomson of Edinburgh, a powerful preacher whose controversial style cannot be recommended for imitation. Chalmers took part in the fray; he recognized that the Seceders were doing something to supplement the efforts of his own Church, but to the end of his life he maintained that only a national establishment could cope with the needs of a great and growing population.

The unrest among orthodox Calvinists is one of the notes of the reviving Evangelical party in the Church, but it was evident that their energies would soon find an outlet in an attack on the abuses of patronage. Many of the party were ardent Whig-Liberals, convinced that the Reform Act of 1832 was the beginning of an era of progress; those who belonged

to this section would have welcomed the proposal to sweep away the system of which they complained, and to make popular election the rule of the Church. But some of the indispensable leaders of the party were of a different way of thinking. Chalmers, for example, was a Tory ; he feared that the Reform Act would take public affairs away from the men of leisure and education, and give power to the men ' whose talk is of bullocks '. He spoke, on occasion, of the ' gullibility ' of popular electorates, and of the influence of ' village demagogues ' : these phrases made him enemies among the Seceders, who were Whigs or even Radicals.

Throughout their long conflict with the courts of law, the Evangelicals argued about patronage as if it had been an institution forced on the Church by the State ; they took no account of the fact that the Church had accepted the system. In 1560, when the reformed Church began her career, nobody thought it possible to maintain a national establishment by private effort. The reformers claimed the ' patrimony ' of the old Church ; the nobles gave them a fraction of what they claimed, and insisted on retaining their own rights of patronage ; the Assembly acquiesced, and disclaimed the intention to deprive the Queen and her nobles of their rights. In 1712, when the Patronage Act was passed, the Church protested, and continued to protest, but for 120 years she allowed her ministers to accept presentations and to draw their stipends. On the settlement of a minister, the procedure included a ' call ' from the congregation ; by the deliberate policy of the Church this call had been reduced to a mere formality. These things had been done in the days of ' moderate ' ascendancy ; but a binding law or usage is not disposed of by showing that it was introduced when this or that party was in power.

At the Assembly of 1832, Dr. Chalmers in the chair, eleven overtures were presented, calling attention to the question of the call, but the house decided that it was inexpedient to proceed further in that direction. At the Assembly of 1833 Chalmers brought forward a motion embodying the policy of his party. It was now asserted as a ' fixed principle ' of the Church that no minister should be intruded on a parish against

the will of the congregation. (If this had been, in fact, the rule of the Church, the north of Scotland might have been Episcopalian to this day.) It was proposed that a majority of male heads of households, being communicants, should be empowered to veto a presentation. The objectors were not to be required to make any definite charge against the doctrine or character of the presentee; Chalmers spoke forcibly, but perhaps not convincingly, in favour of the 'veto without reasons'. Lord Moncreiff, a good lawyer, held that the proposed legislation was within the powers of the Assembly; he relied on the Act of Assembly, passed in the unhappy year 1649. David Boyle, Lord Justice Clerk, a lawyer of the first rank, did not accept his colleague's reading of that Act; his advice was disregarded by the non-intrusion party. Good party men are always too ready to take their law from persons whom they believe to be in sympathy with their aims. Dr. M'Crie, a dissenter, but a strong supporter of Church establishments, pressed the evangelical leaders to petition Parliament for the abolition of patronage; his advice also went for nothing. Chalmers and his friends were sure that the abuses of patronage were only occasional; they argued that the appointments made by patrons had been 'generally good'. The motion demanding the veto was rejected by a narrow majority.

Besides the question of the call, this Assembly took up the case of chapels of ease—buildings erected in the more populous parts of the country, served by ministers of the Established Church, but supported by voluntary effort. Ministers of such chapels were not parish ministers, and for this reason they did not sit in Church courts. It was now suggested that the Church, without consulting Parliament, might alter her legal constitution. Dr. Brown of Aberdeen moved that chapel ministers should be admitted to all the privileges of the regular clergy. Dr. Cook of St. Andrews, the leader of the 'moderate' party, expressed approval of the idea, and moved for a committee to consider how it could best be carried out; his motion was carried by only four votes. With a little care in the selection of members of Assembly, the Evangelicals might count on being in a majority the next year.

When the Assembly of 1834, met the Veto Act, founded on the proposals of the previous year, was passed by a substantial majority. Kirk-sessions were directed to keep a roll of persons entitled to vote. The Chapel Act was also passed, admitting chapel ministers to sit in presbyteries, synods, and assemblies. Dr. Chalmers was not a member of this Assembly ; his position, as the Conservative leader of a party of abstract politicians, was becoming difficult. At this moment his best energies were devoted to the problem of Church extension. He was opposed to the Chapel Act ; he hoped to see the parochial system made co-extensive with the spiritual needs of the population. This was possible, if Parliament would agree to endow new parishes, but much was possible, if a right-minded Government came into power. Nothing good was to be expected of the Whig Government now in office ; they would not help the Church because the Radicals would vote against them if they did. Dr. Chalmers had a 'moral loathing' for the Whigs. The Seceders were taking care that their Radical friends in London should be warned to oppose any further endowment of the Established Church.

The Veto Act remained an Act of Assembly for ten years ; it worked, as a rule, quite peaceably. In the first five years of its existence, 150 livings fell vacant ; ten presentees were vetoed ; these, for the most part, took their defeat quietly. From the outset, however, it was certain that the Assembly's decision would be challenged in a court of law. In August 1834 the living of Auchterarder became vacant ; Lord Kinnoul presented Mr. Robert Young, a blameless man, and ultimately a successful parish minister. But the congregation was keen to exercise its new privilege ; of 330 persons on the roll 287 objected to Mr. Young ; the presbytery postponed the matter until the next Assembly should direct them what to do.

At the Assembly of 1835 Chalmers made a noble appeal on behalf of Church extension ; in burning words he made plain the greatness of the need, and showed what had already been done by voluntary effort, and what remained to be done. Alexander Duff, the apostle of Bengal, gave impassioned utterance to his plans and hopes for India. The Auchterarder

presbytery were directed to deal with Mr. Young in terms of the Veto Act ; they refused accordingly to take the presentee ' on trial '. After entering a protest, Young, for himself and Lord Kinnoul, raised an action, claiming a declaration that the presbytery were legally bound to make trial of his qualifications. His chief legal adviser was John Hope, Dean of the Faculty of Advocates, a descendant of the Lord Advocate who had advised Charles I how not to get the better of the Covenanters. As a member of Assembly the Dean had committed himself to the opinion that the Veto Act was beyond the legal powers of the Established Church. After the usual delays, the point of law was argued before the full Court of Session in November 1837 ; at the end of the ensuing February, judgment was given. The Lord President (Charles Hope, father of the learned Dean) and seven of his colleagues upheld that view of the law for which John Hope had contended ; five judges upheld the Veto Act. The report of the case extends to two volumes, and cannot well be summarized : almost every page contains something which students may read with interest and profit. While the existing rights of the Established Church were in debate, Dr. Heugh, the eminent Seceder, went to London with a deputation, to protest against any further endowment, such as Chalmers was trying to obtain. The deputation had an interview with Tom Duncombe, the ' dandy demagogue ' who sat for Finsbury. They found him ' sound on the principle, but ignorant of the facts.'

When the Assembly met in May, overtures were presented calling attention to the question of ' spiritual independence ' ; the Evangelicals put forward Robert Buchanan, an accomplished minister and a notable debater in Church courts, to move a resolution, asserting the ' exclusive jurisdiction ' of the Church courts in matters relating to doctrine, government, and discipline : this power was ' derived from God and the Mediator Jesus Christ ' ; the Church was now asked to assert ' and at all hazards to defend ' her independence ; her office-bearers and members were warned that her law might be ' enforced ' : in other words, a minister who obeyed the civil courts might be deposed and thrown out for breaking the law of the Church.

This motion was adopted by 183 votes to 142. The Headship of Christ was referred to as the ground of the Church's claim; by using this expression the Evangelicals gave currency to the notion that their opponents were not loyal to Christ. It is to be noted that Mr. Buchanan used the word 'jurisdiction' as if it were equivalent to 'authority'; there is, in fact, a distinction to be observed. The authority of the Church is derived from her Lord, and no civil court can define it. In the modern State jurisdiction (the right to declare the law with coercive effect) can only be derived from the State. A Church, whether established or 'free', is, among other things, an association, formed for a lawful purpose. Like other associate bodies, she can make rules for her members, and may enforce them by suitable penalties, such as deprivation of office. The Scottish judges had virtually decided that, by accepting patronage, the Church had precluded herself from making the rule embodied in the Veto Act.

After the Assembly Dr. Chalmers went to London, where he delivered a course of lectures on Church Establishments. His fame drew many distinguished persons to hear him; the old Duke of Cambridge sat, nodding his head at every reference to the Protestant religion, and seven or more Anglican bishops were among the audience. Young Mr. Gladstone, who was just finishing his treatise on *The State in its Relation with the Church*, was also present. He had a profound respect for the lecturer, but his training had not prepared him to follow the argument: in a letter to Manning he described it as 'a jumble of Church, un-Church, and anti-Church principles'.

In December some well-meaning people went to Glasgow, to celebrate the bicentenary of Henderson's Assembly; the meeting was not skilfully managed, and did nothing to bring parties and Churches together.

In March 1839 the appeal in the Auchterarder case was heard in the House of Lords; only two law-lords were present—the Chancellor (Lord Cottenham) and the ex-Chancellor Lord Brougham. On the 2nd May judgment was given. Before Cottenham could begin, Brougham was on his feet; his speech was long and discursive. He poured contempt on the notion

that a popular call could be of any importance whatever; assumed that the Church courts would take orders from the civil courts, and lamented that the Church of Scotland was straying from the safe path in which she had been guided by his grand-uncle, Principal Robertson. The only good result of this harangue was that it gave Hugh Miller a subject for his admirably written 'Letter to Lord Brougham'. When the ex-Chancellor was at last silent, Cottenham read a closely reasoned opinion, agreeing with the majority of judges in the court below. A fortnight later, the Assembly met; the chief question for debate was, what to do in face of the judgment of the civil courts? Dr. Cook proposed that the Church should return to the practice which prevailed before the Veto Act. Dr. Muir tried his hand at conciliation, but his motion was knocked to pieces by Mr. Candlish, the Edinburgh minister who in time succeeded Chalmers in the leadership of the Evangelical party. On a division the motion which stood in Chalmers' name was carried by 204 votes against 155 for Dr. Cook. In speaking to his motion, Chalmers accepted the civil judgment, in so far as it applied to the emoluments of the benefice; he still held that the Veto Act was a legitimate exercise of spiritual authority; he still argued vehemently in defence of the 'veto without reasons'. He referred to the practice of the Church of England, but he took no account of a difference between the Churches which is really important. In England a patron may present a layman to be rector or vicar of a parish, in the hope that the bishop will ordain the presentee; the question, whether to ordain or not, is decided by the bishop, and no civil court will interfere with his discretion. In Scotland a patron could only present a minister or probationer of the Church, that is to say, a person whose fitness had been certified by a presbytery. There was at least an apparent difficulty in holding that a person, certified by a Church court, might be rejected, and discredited, by the unexplained vote of one congregation.

Chalmers moved for a Committee, empowered to confer with Government; among the names he selected was that of the Earl of Dalhousie, a young elder who was beginning to take

a high place in public life. But Dalhousie would neither serve on the Committee nor sit any longer in the Assembly. To his mind the doctrine laid down by his leader was not compatible with any peaceable solution of the problem; the Church, as he said, had 'rung out her knell as the Established Church of Scotland'.

The non-intrusion struggle had brought the national Church within sight of the position occupied by the Original Burghers. A portion of that body returned to the Church from which they had been separated for a century and more.

Soon after the Assembly rose, the presbytery of Dunkeld appeared at the bar of the Supreme Court, to answer for having inducted a minister at Lethendy, in defiance of an interdict. In this case the special circumstances were held by Evangelicals to justify any irregularity in the procedure. When the Court of Session met in private it appeared that five judges were for sending the members of presbytery to prison; six thought a reprimand would be sufficient; the Lord President Hope did not vote. The reprimand was duly administered. Later in the year John Hope wrote a 'Letter' of 290 printed pages to Lord Cottenham; in Scotland this manifesto had little success, but in London it was accepted as an authoritative statement of the case against the non-intrusion party.

Of sixty-three newspapers published in Scotland, only eight were friendly to the non-intrusion party. Hugh Miller was brought from Cromarty to Edinburgh to edit the *Witness*, a bi-weekly paper: until his melancholy death in 1856 he remained the chief literary champion of non-intrusion principles. It was now plain that only Parliament could make a way out of the difficulty, and Lord Aberdeen was prepared to do what he could. He introduced a Bill in the House of Lords, but the ensuing Assembly rejected the Bill by a great majority: the substance of the objection to it was that it fell short of the 'veto without reasons'. Chalmers was so tired of the long wrangle that he wrote a pamphlet, suggesting that the whole matter should be left to Parliament: let the people go straight to their representatives and ask for the veto, the call or the abolition of patronage; and in the meantime, let the Veto Act

be repealed. This pamphlet was apparently withdrawn before it went into general circulation. His colleagues in the leadership probably saw, or thought they saw, a tactical difficulty, not obvious to the simple mind of Chalmers. To repeal the Veto Act would be to haul down the flag, and to incur the deep distrust of their own followers.

January 1841 witnessed the most impressive episode in a struggle which made the northern parish of Marnoch as famous as Auchterarder. In 1837 the living of Marnoch had been vacant; Lord Fife's trustees had presented John Edwards; as to the merits of the presentee we can say only this, that his friends spoke well of him, while his enemies made no definite charge against him. Of 300 persons on the roll 261 voted against him. Marnoch is in the presbytery of Strathbogie, and the ministers of that presbytery were divided in opinion; the non-intrusion minority were prepared to exclude Mr. Edwards; the majority argued that obedience to magistrates was a duty enjoined in the New Testament, and that, when the Assembly ordered resistance to a judgment of the civil courts, it went beyond its province, and ought not to be obeyed. By a majority of seven to three the presbytery took Mr. Edwards on trial; the Commission of Assembly set aside the seven, and erected the minority into a presbytery; the civil court forbade the minority presbytery to provide ordinances for the parishes within its bounds. In defiance of this interdict, Evangelical ministers from the south went to preach in Strathbogie; the churches of the seven ministers were closed to the non-intrusion preachers, but they held services in the open air, even in the depth of winter. Now, in January 1841, the majority-presbytery met in the Church at Marnoch to induct Mr. Edwards. The parishioners of the veto party attended in force; after arguing the point of law with the presbytery, they collected the Bibles in their pews, and left the building; a mob of strangers rushed in, and the subsequent proceedings were a good deal interrupted. Both parties claimed to be acting in the name of Jesus Christ.

Before the Assembly met, the Duke of Argyle, an aged nobleman who had recently succeeded his brother as head of

that historic family, introduced a Bill to legalize the popular veto. In framing this measure, his Grace had the assistance of divers leaders of opinion in Scotland. His eldest surviving son, the Marquis of Lorne, was keenly interested in the question at issue, and was making his own contribution to the voluminous literature of the subject. When the Assembly met, Candlish put forth all his powers in the endeavour to persuade both parties to accept the Duke's Bill; he carried his motion by a large majority, but the debate made it plain that the compromise effected could not be permanent. Some voted for the Duke because they thought he was staving off the abolition of patronage, and some because they thought the Bill was a step towards abolition. Conspicuous in the anti-patronage group was the dignified figure of William Cunningham, a scholar of some note, and a pillar of the non-intrusion party. In this very Assembly Cunningham had almost carried a motion to the effect that patronage was 'an evil and a grievance'. On considering these various proceedings, the Duke withdrew his Bill. The Strathbogie contest was carried as far as a Church court could carry it; the seven obstinate ministers were deposed; Edwards was deprived of his licence to preach, and declared never to have been a minister. From time to time an interdict, launched by the Supreme Court, hurtled through the air.

The United Secession was also divided on a question of great importance. James Morison, a young minister at Kilmarnock, was found to be teaching that Christ died for all men, not for the elect only. Morison explained that he did not teach 'universalism', but he was suspended, on the motion of Dr. Heugh. His own congregation, most of whom had joined the Church during his ministry, supported him warmly. Dr. John Brown declared that the Morisonian doctrine could not be proved unscriptural.

There was a general election in July; by the end of August Lord Melbourne was out of office, and Sir Robert Peel was forming a strong Conservative administration. Sir Robert was himself a religious man, but he had no sympathy with ministers who advocated resistance to the civil courts; his

Home Secretary, Sir James Graham, was of the same way of thinking. In Strathbogie the fire still smouldered ; discipline was brought to bear on ministers who assisted the deposed brethren in holding services or in administering the sacraments. There were other local cases in which the non-intrusion party came into collision with orders of the Supreme Court ; each of these cases turns on its own local facts, and it is better not to attempt any summary description : Auchterarder and Marnoch were the two stricken fields on which the contending armies met in full force. At this time of day it is also better to omit the numerous charges of discourtesy and bad faith which are to be found in the partisan histories of this period. A word must be said as to the language which the Evangelicals thought themselves entitled to employ. Believing as they did that the Headship of Christ was at stake, they used the name of our Lord with a freedom which we, who live in less exciting times, may be allowed to regret. The right to veto a presentee was described as one of the rights ' purchased by the Redeemer with His Blood '. Lord Aberdeen's Bill was an attempt to ' hurl the Redeemer from His throne '. A parcel of ministers who disobeyed the Assembly were told by an eminent lawyer that they were ' in contempt of the authority of the Lord Jesus '.

In March 1842 the troubles in Scotland were discussed in the House of Commons ; Mr. Campbell of Monzie, a Conservative member, did his best to revive the Duke of Argyle's Bill of the previous year. Peel and Graham were guarded in their utterances : they would stand by the law of the land ; if they legislated at all, their Bill would be on the lines of that introduced in 1840 by Lord Aberdeen (now Foreign Secretary). When the Assembly met the Marquis of Bute represented the Queen ; the Moderator was Dr. David Welsh, Professor of Church History at Edinburgh. Representatives of the minority-presbytery of Strathbogie took their seats ; the lay representative, Major Stewart, had been interdicted by the civil court ; he held up the interdict in one hand and a Bible in the other, and said he would obey the latter. Cunningham brought forward his motion, declaring patronage to be a grievance, and

carried it by a large majority. Even at this late stage Chalmers could not bring himself to say that patronage was 'unscriptural'; he agreed that the time had come for its abolition. Overtures were presented, calling attention to the encroachments of the civil courts; the Assembly adopted the 'claim declaration and protest' usually known as the Claim of Right. This document was drawn up by Alexander Dunlop; it remains an impressive monument of his knowledge and ability. No legal argument could be better put, but the problem now to be solved was a problem, not for lawyers but for statesmen. Peel saw no occasion for offering better terms to the party of resistance; he was going to stand by the law, as the courts had expounded it. The Claim of Right and the petition against patronage were sent to the Queen; Sir James Graham would have to frame her Majesty's reply.

In August the House of Lords gave judgment in what is known as the second Auchterarder case; it was decided that Mr. Young was entitled to damages, as against the presbytery which had refused to take him on trial. The amount must be fixed in the ordinary course by subsequent proceedings, but the principle alarmed the non-intrusion leaders into action, for this decision would enable the civil courts to impose heavy pecuniary penalties on any Church court which refused compliance with their decrees. Sooner than submit to this, the non-intrusion party would leave the Established Church.

Before they had come to a decision another movement of reunion has to be chronicled. The new-lights had joined to form the United Secession; those of the old-light Burghers who had refused to join the established Church now made common cause with the old-light Antiburghers; the resulting community were to be known as Original Seceders. Two Antiburgher ministers, Wright of Lauriston and Lammie of Pitcairn Green, would not come in unless the Burghers would submit to discipline for the 'sin' of 1747. For a time these two individuals constituted the true Church of Scotland; when Lammie escaped from the fold, Wright remained alone. He was a solid preacher of the Word, and his discourses on apocalyptic subjects commanded some attention.

Chalmers and his friends had now to face a very searching question. They were leading a large party, but how many would follow them out of the Establishment ? The ministers of the party were, for the most part, family men, and in many manses a cloud of anxiety overshadowed the heads of the household. In November a meeting of ministers (it was known as the Convocation) was held in Edinburgh ; a small church was chosen, that the discussion might be more or less informal. Macdonald of Ferintosh prayed ; Chalmers preached a great sermon, and took the leading part in the subsequent conference. He had thought out the problems of a self-supporting Church, and the machinery was almost in working order before it was actually needed. Of the 465 ministers who attended, 423 accepted the first body of resolutions proposed, and 354 stayed to vote for a second body ; the leaders felt bound to go on.

The year 1843 opened badly for the non-intrusionists. On the 4th January Sir James Graham sent a dispatch ; he met the demands of the non-intrusion party with a simple negative. He defended patronage as a system which conduced to the welfare and stability of the Church ; he dwelt on the point (the strongest point to be made on his side) that in Scotland a patron could only present a minister or licentiate—a person whose fitness was certified by a Church court. He thought the Claim of Right ' unreasonable '. On the 20th January the Court of Session gave judgment in the Stewarton case ; it was decided, by a majority of eight to five, that the Church had no power to divide that parish in order to assign a district to a *quoad sacra* minister. Good party men were content to say that the eight judges were mistaken, but the division of opinion shows that the question in debate was, as a lawyer would say, ' very arguable '. On the 7th March Fox Maule, then member for Perth, called attention to the Church question in the House of Commons, and asked for a Committee to inquire ; his motion was defeated by 211 votes to 76.

On the 18th May the Assembly was to meet in Edinburgh. The High Commissioner (Lord Bute) went in state to St. Giles ; Dr. Welsh preached a dignified sermon. At 2.30 members of

Assembly were in their places at St. Andrew's Church, but, before the Court was constituted, Dr. Welsh rose and read a solemn protest. Laying the paper on the table he moved to the door, followed by Chalmers, Candlish, and a long line of ministers and elders. The ' residuaries ' (this was the name bestowed on them by the protesters) looked round in dismay, to see how many of their best men had gone. They turned, with admirable constancy, to the business which now claimed their attention. Their first duty, as they conceived, was to restore the balance of the Church, as it was before the non-intrusion party came into power. The Veto Act was disposed of by directing presbyteries to proceed according to the practice which prevailed before the passing of that Act ; the Acts admitting Parliamentary ministers, Chapel ministers, and returned Seceders were rescinded ' as having been incompletely passed ' ; the Strathbogie ministers and other victims of Evangelical ascendancy were restored. In the day of their power the Evangelicals had repealed the Act of Assembly of 1799 which forbade co-operation with ministers of other Churches. This Act was now revived ; it might soon be needed.

When the protesters left St. Andrew's Church the streets were so crowded that they fell into line ; as they passed along there was a general movement of sympathy ; men of all parties felt that the protesters were showing a spirit not unworthy of the high principles they had asserted. Marching down the long slope to Canonmills they took possession of a large hall there ; Dr. Chalmers was placed in the chair as Moderator of the first Assembly of the Free Church of Scotland. The necessities of the new Church were provided for by the institution of a Sustentation Fund, out of which every settled minister was to receive an equal dividend. A deed was prepared, by which the protesters and those who adhered to them resigned their places and emoluments in the Established Church. Taking round figures, we may say that of 1,200 ministers less than 500 went out ; of more than 1,000 parish ministers less than 300 went out ; of 233 *quoad sacra* ministers 162 went out. These figures were deeply disappointing to both the contending parties. Moderates had prophesied that not twenty-five

ministers would go out ; the non-intrusion leaders had counted on carrying out so strong a contingent that the Established Church would be reduced to a ' moral nullity '. In the course of our history more than one body of Seceders had claimed to be the true Church of Scotland ; the Free Church now attempted to make good that claim by providing religious ordinances in every parish. This involved a severe strain on her lay supporters, but they were equal to the strain. English observers were amazed to hear of the sums raised for parochial work and foreign missions ; they were greatly impressed by the fact that the men who gave up the material advantages of Establishment placed the Establishment principle in the forefront of their testimony. Chalmers thought their testimony on this point the chief glory of his Church. There came a day when his speeches had to be explained away, but during his lifetime he was neither opposed nor criticized. Like the Burghers of 1747, the Free Churchmen of 1843 did not foresee the changes of opinion through which they would have to pass, though symptoms of change were perceptible very early : thus in 1845 we find Mr. Dunlop arguing that his adherence to the Establishment principle did not commit him to the establishment of error ; if he had to choose between the existing Establishment and none at all, he would prefer to have none. The pride of Free Churchmen in their own Church was unhappily combined with a profound contempt for the brethren whom they had left behind. The ' bond Establishment ' was constantly disparaged ; its leaders were spoken of as men whose loyalty to Christ was at the best doubtful ; in some parts of the country the parish minister was boycotted. A special hostility was reserved for ministers who had voted with the non-intrusion party, and then declined to leave their manses. One minister had spoken of laying his head on the block for spiritual independence, but when the day of trial came he remained in his manse. On leaving home one morning, he found, in front of his door, a butcher's block, with an axe laid across.

Chalmers himself did not change his opinions ; within a few days of his death in 1847 he told a Parliamentary Committee that voluntaryism could hardly be expected to solve the problem

of Church extension in Scotland. The year of Chalmers's death witnessed another instalment of reunion. The Seceders and the Relief met in the hall where the Free Church had begun her career, and formed the United Presbyterian Church. At the time of their union, the Secession numbered 400 congregations, the Relief 100. The basis of union is an ably drawn document, but some found it unsatisfactory ; Andrew Marshall, who had begun the ' voluntary controversy ' in 1829, stood on the same ground as before, but for the rest of his life he stood alone. At the general election of 1847, Hugh Miller declared that the time had come to return men of ' avowed Christian principle ' to the House of Commons ; this meant, unfortunately, that ecclesiastical questions were mixed up with politics. Macaulay, for instance, lost his seat at Edinburgh ; his opponents included the advocates of cheap whisky and the patrons of Musselburgh races, but the chief complaint against him was that he had voted for an increased grant to the Roman Catholic College at Maynooth ; Cunningham and others regarded this grant as a ' national sin '. For a considerable period the petition against Maynooth was laid out from time to time at street-corners in Edinburgh ; students and schoolboys amused themselves by appending fantastic signatures.

During the years which followed the Disruption the parochial system, on which Chalmers had based his plan of social reform, was largely secularized. The Poor Law of 1845 put an end to the old rules as to church-door collections. Candlish tried to commit the Free Church to an ambitious education scheme ; schools as well as churches were to be duplicated in a thousand parishes. Hugh Miller opposed the scheme ; he argued forcibly that the education of the future must be national, not sectarian : the embers of this controversy were extinguished in 1872, when Parliament took over the whole business of elementary education. In 1847 the Free Church adopted a Catechism of her own principles, drawn up by Andrew Gray of Perth ; this document was so fiercely polemical that it soon dropped out of use ; it was revived, for the benefit of the House of Lords, in 1904. To note what was passing in another quarter of the field, we may observe that in this year Mr. Gladstone and others brought

Dr. Charles Wordsworth to be warden of the new school at Glenalmond. During the forty-five years of his residence in Scotland this learned divine, who became in 1852 Bishop of St. Andrews, took part in many controversies. Within his own Church he defended what he thought the sounder tradition as to her Communion Service ; on this point his chief antagonist was Alexander Forbes, Bishop of Brechin. Wordsworth was anxious to bring Episcopalians and Presbyterians together, but in this enterprise he had little success. The claim of Episcopacy cannot be fairly considered by our Churches until the history of Presbyterianism has been critically studied.

In 1852 the Synod of Original Seceders resolved, by a majority of one, to join the Free Church ; the union took effect, but ten of their congregations refused to come into it. The problem of union between the two large non-established Presbyterian Churches was mooted ; for some time the leaders of the Free Church thought it impossible to unite with ' voluntaries ', but that Church had in fact given a demonstration of the success of voluntary effort on an unexampled scale, and the sentiment of her members was steadily changing. When her ministers gave up all the worldly advantages of establishment, they made sure that the civil courts would leave them free in all matters relating to doctrine and discipline. But it is property, not establishment, which brings a religious body under the control of the State ; this was the hard lesson which the Free Church had still to learn. A case which emerged in 1859 put a severe strain on her theory of discipline. Alexander Macmillan, Free Church minister of Cardross, was tried on charges affecting his moral character ; in the Presbytery and the Synod he was found not guilty, but the case was appealed to the supreme court of the Church ; the Assembly undertook to re-try the whole case, and found Macmillan guilty ; there was some difference of opinion as to the regularity of the Assembly's procedure. Macmillan went to the Court of Session, and applied for an interdict ; this was refused, but he went on with an action claiming ' reduction ' (revision or annulment) of his sentence ; this was the preliminary to a claim for damages against the Assembly. Macmillan was cited to the bar of the

Assembly, and asked to say whether he was the person in whose name these proceedings had been taken; he answered in the affirmative; Candlish immediately moved that he should be deposed from the ministry; the motion was unanimously passed. At a later time Cunningham held that Candlish ought to have acted more deliberately, and Candlish's official biographer gives a curiously guarded account of the incident. In the long run, Macmillan failed to obtain any legal redress; his friends always regarded him as an ill-used man. The doubts raised as to the regularity of the Assembly's action did not prevent Candlish from lecturing the judges on their ignorance of Church law.

During the sixties of last century the question of reunion was constantly under discussion in the non-established sections of Presbyterianism. In 1863 the Reformed Presbyterians, still popularly known as Cameronians, resolved that their members might hold public office, or vote in elections, without incurring any ecclesiastical penalty; their Synod 'recommended' abstention, but this was rather a counsel of perfection. In the Free Church Assembly a 'constitutional' party was formed, of men who could not see their way to union with Voluntaries; the leaders were Begg of Edinburgh, a slashing popular speaker, and Nixon of Montrose, a persistent exponent of principles which were losing their hold on younger men. Candlish advocated union, but even in 1869 he explained that he had not given up the Establishment principle; he had not even agreed to make it an open question. In the Established Church this was a decade of continuous advance. Robertson of Ellon, who succeeded David Welsh in the chair of Church History, raised a very large voluntary endowment, to be used for Church extension; by 1869 the Established Church claimed to have more communicants than the rival Churches put together. Norman Macleod of Glasgow did much to bring his Church into friendly relations with working people; he was also ever ready to maintain that the Lord's day is not the same institution as the Jewish sabbath. T. J. Crawford was a theologian who could cross swords, on occasion, with Candlish or with Bishop Wordsworth. John Cairn, Professor of Theology

at Glasgow, was a pulpit orator of almost unrivalled power; in 1868, when he proposed an honorary degree for John McLeod Campbell, it was plain that Scotland had moved since 1831. Dr. Robert Lee made the Greyfriars Church at Edinburgh a centre for those who wished to alter and improve the forms of public worship; in 1864 he introduced the first organ that was heard in a Presbyterian Church; he went on to print a prayer book for the use of his congregation. Many leading men of the old 'moderate' party had been conscious of the objections which may be taken to patronage; they now began to think that their Church was strong enough to dispense with the system. In 1869 the Church of Scotland Assembly petitioned Parliament to abolish patronage. A deputation went to see Mr. Gladstone in London; the leader of the Liberal party listened to their argument, and asked how their proposal would affect those non-established bodies whose founders had protested against patronage as a grievance. Macleod and his friends were not unprepared for this question, but a full answer to it might have involved them in danger; Mr. Gladstone and his party were just in the act of disestablishing the Church of Ireland; the matter had to stand over.

In 1870 three Scottish bishops went to Rome, to join in proclaiming the doctrine of papal infallibility: in the same year the Pope lost his temporal power. These events did not greatly affect the interests of Roman Catholics in Scotland. While asserting the principle of 'spiritual independence' even more definitely than the Free Church, and asserting from time to time her own version of the 'establishment principle', the Church of Rome has never brought herself into conflict with the civil courts in Scotland; she needs no assistance in governing her own people. Occasional troubles had arisen between the Scotch and Irish members of her community. Archbishop Manning had been sent in 1867 to the Western district, to compose the strife which had arisen in that quarter; he advocated the restoration of the Roman episcopate, and this project was carried out by Leo XIII in 1878. Eminent lawyers advised that the new titles conferred were not permitted by statute-law; they added that no penalty could be exacted from the offenders.

Before the end of 1873 Candlish passed away ; as leader of the Free Church he was succeeded by Robert Rainy, a scholarly man who had distinguished himself by his writings. In the lists of controversy Rainy had proved his mettle by delivering, at short notice, an effective reply to Dean Stanley's *Lectures on the Church of Scotland*. His leadership was soon to be tested ; in February 1874 Disraeli formed a strong Conservative administration ; the first session of the new Parliament was largely devoted to two ecclesiastical measures, a Bill to put down ritualism in the Church of England, and a Bill to abolish patronage in Scotland. Gladstone, who had vaguely intimated his retirement from public life, returned to the scene of his former triumphs ; he subjected both measures to searching criticism. The Duke of Argyle, who had, in his younger days, supported Dr. Chalmers, was now the most conspicuous advocate of the Anti-patronage Bill. He admitted that the Government might have taken this opportunity to come to an understanding with the Free Church ; he justified the Government for declining to do so. The Free Church was committed to union with Voluntaries ; she had, as the Duke contended, changed her principles. The Act as passed took away the rights of all patrons, and provided that the minister of each parish was to be chosen by the congregation, i. e. by communicant members and adherents. Some purists objected to the adherents, but it was thought wiser to include them. There are parishes in which the danger of ' eating and drinking unworthily ' has been so faithfully preached that a populous parish may furnish only a handful of communicants. Before the Bill became an Act, the Free Church Assembly resolved that the problem could only be solved by ' the termination of the present connexion of Church and State in Scotland ' ; the word ' disestablishment ' was not used. The ' constitutional ' party declared that they could not agree to union with Voluntaries; they took legal opinions on the question, What would happen to the funds of the Church in case of a schism ?

In 1876 the Reformed Presbyterians joined the Free Church. They had never ' explained ' the Covenants, like Adam Gib, and the union raised no fundamental question. Some thirteen

of their congregations held aloof, and their sympathizers in Ireland and elsewhere were unwilling to comply with the uncovenanted State. When this union took effect the Free Church was just entering on a controversy of the first importance. In 1863 Andrew B. Davidson had become her Professor of Hebrew at Edinburgh, in succession to the erratic man of genius known as Rabbi Duncan. Davidson believed that the religious significance of the Old Testament was best understood by studying the history of the sacred books and their authors. For nearly forty years he went on forming the mind of his own Church, filling her chairs and pulpits with men who were imbued with his methods and deeply impressed by his example. He took no conspicuous part in controversy, and in Church courts he sat silent, even when all parties were eager to hear him. His most famous pupil was William Robertson Smith, ' best student ' of Aberdeen, mathematician, orientalist, and critic. In 1869 Smith, who was just twenty-three (one thinks of Andrew Melville at Geneva), was expounding astronomy and physics at Edinburgh ; in the following year his own Assembly chose him to be Professor of Hebrew at Aberdeen. He was one of the scholars who were bringing out the ninth edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*. In the opening volumes of that publication the articles ' Angel ' and ' Bible ' attracted much attention ; they proved that Smith had mastered and accepted the version of Hebrew history which we owe to Wellhausen and other German critics. Many good men found that they could not reconcile the new doctrine with the ' inerrancy ' of Scripture, as declared at Westminster ; they demanded urgently that Smith's teaching should be stopped. Smith himself claimed to be an Evangelical Protestant and a loyal Presbyterian ; his opponents regarded him as a sad example of ' unsanctified learning '. Rainy's position was one of extreme difficulty. He was himself a scholar, and he had persuaded himself that the questions at issue were not ' confessionally settled '. But he saw clearly that, if Robertson Smith were not condemned, there would be ' ruinous confusion ' in the Free Church. Smith more than once used bitter language about Rainy, but the two men, both of whom were unselfish

and high-minded, looked at the matter from different points of view.

At the Assembly of 1877 Smith demanded a formal trial, and his own presbytery began to prepare the 'libel' (bill of accusation). In the autumn the first Panpresbyterian Council met at Edinburgh; when its eloquence had fallen silent, the great case went on; in the end the Assembly forbade Smith to teach; he was not unwilling to go, if his departure would bring peace to the Church. He became an independent scholar, and the short remainder of his life was devoted to literary work. His methods remained in the Church of his origin and training; the teaching of her professors and the preaching of her ministers have undergone a change.

While the Free Church was shaking off her persistent son, the United Presbyterians made an important change in their 'subordinate standards'. In this matter, and indeed in all their difficulties, speculative or practical, their best adviser was John Cairns of Berwick, a scholar who ranked with Robertson Smith, and a preacher whose massive power recalled the memory of Chalmers. His task in 1879 was to provide some satisfaction for those whose minds were influenced by the teaching which we associate with the names of John Brown and James Morison. The Declaratory Act was an attempt to preserve the substance of Calvinism and to restate some main doctrines of the system in the light of modern thought.

In 1885 a general election was expected in November, and the advocates of disestablishment had fixed their hopes on Mr. Gladstone; it was expected that he would either give the question a place in his programme, or put forward some new plan of reunion and reconstruction. But Mr. Gladstone was close on seventy-six, and in Church matters had never been in complete sympathy with his supporters in Scotland; he never quite understood how a religious nation could be so generally indifferent to what he thought most important in Church life. In his first speech to the electors of Midlothian, which was delivered in the Assembly Hall of the Free Church, he played with the question of disestablishment, and said nothing of the merits. It was evident that his duty to the Liberal party

would not permit him to run the risk involved in an attack on the most powerful and popular of the Presbyterian Churches. Where Mr. Gladstone left the question, his successors have been content to leave it. After the first defeat of his Irish policy in 1886 the Liberal leader could only argue that, if his friends in Scotland would send a stronger contingent of Home Rulers to the House of Commons, any special Scottish demand would be dealt with at some vaguely indicated future time.

In 1892 the Free Church passed a Declaratory Act, resembling that which had been passed by the United Presbyterians in 1879. A small body of protesters left the Church ; they called themselves Free Presbyterians. They identified themselves with the Church of 1843, but no steps were taken to establish the legal validity of this claim. Before the century closed, the long negotiations between the non-established Churches led them to an incorporating union ; at the end of October 1900 the Free Church Assembly and the United Presbyterian Synod met at Edinburgh, and Dr. Rainy became the first Moderator of the United Free Church. The United Presbyterians were unanimous ; in the other Church a small body of dissentients held aloof ; they met separately, described themselves as the Assembly of the Free Church, and raised actions in which they claimed the vast accumulated funds of that society. In July 1901 Lord Low decided against their claim, and his judgment was upheld by four judges in the Inner House. The Scottish judges who heard the argument were unanimous in holding that the 'Establishment principle' was not an essential and fundamental part of the constitution of 1843 ; they also held that any modification of Free Church principles effected in 1892 or in 1900 was within the legal powers of the Assembly. It seemed now that the protesting minority would be thrown out, but Rainy and his coadjutors did not wish to take any inconsiderate advantage of their success. They offered to raise a sum which would have been a provision for the small Free Church ; the offer was declined, and the case was taken on appeal to the House of Lords. In 1903 it was argued at length, and the House was prepared to give judgment, when the death of Lord Shand made it neces-

sary to order a re-hearing. The second argument began in June 1904, and on the 1st August the seven lords who had heard the case delivered their opinions.

The Lord Chancellor (Lord Halsbury) moved that the judgments in the courts below should be reversed. Founding himself on Lord Eldon's opinion in Craigdallie's case, he declared that the identity of a religious community must consist in its distinctive doctrines. If the question arises, which of these doctrines are essential, its original documents must be examined, in order to ascertain what its founders *thought* essential. His own reading of the documents of 1843 had brought him to the conclusion that Chalmers and his colleagues made the 'Establishment principle' an essential doctrine of the Free Church; he was also convinced that they had identified their Church with the Calvinism of the Confession of Faith. The small Church, holding all the principles of 1843, was therefore the true Free Church, entitled to claim the property of that body. The majority of the Free Church had in his opinion gone out to form a new community, in which they were united with Voluntaries and opponents of strict Calvinism. He could not find that the Assembly had ever been empowered to change the doctrines of the Church, or to turn out a minority who adhered to the doctrines of 1843.

Lord Macnaghten was of a contrary opinion; while accepting the principle on which Craigdallie's case had been decided, he gave eloquent expression to the idea that the Free Church was a living body, capable of growth and development; she had made great sacrifices to obtain complete self-government, and must therefore have power to relax the stringency of her formulae. He was followed by Lord Davey, who, while sympathizing with the effort of enlightened men to escape from the fetters forged by an earlier generation, could not find that the Assembly was empowered to alter the basis of the Free Church, or to divert the trusts on which her property was held. Of the four judges who spoke later, three agreed with the Lord Chancellor; only Lord Lindley held that the Assembly had acted within its legal powers.

In the history of a Christian community any question

relating to property is of secondary importance, but the disaster which had befallen the United Free Church was one of no ordinary magnitude. The greater part of her resources, including even recent benefactions given by ardent supporters of Rainy's policy, had been assigned to the small Free Church ; her own existence, as a powerful society carrying on many branches of religious work, had become in a moment precarious and problematical. There was a general feeling that the Legislature must do something to obviate the consequences of the judgment. A Royal Commission reported that the small Church (numbering at this stage only some twenty-five ministers) was unable to administer the vast property assigned to her by the House of Lords, and in 1905 an Act of Parliament set up an Executive Commission to allocate the property in dispute. The larger portion of the buildings and funds was now assigned to the United Church ; the small Free Church retained an endowment, amply sufficient to answer all the claims she could fairly put forward. The Church of Scotland had watched the misfortunes of her ' sister Church ' with genuine sympathy, and with a touch of amusement ; her leaders now took advantage of Mr. Balfour's Bill to obtain a concession for themselves. Like the other Presbyterian bodies, they began to find that some ministers and office-bearers were chafing against the rigid theology of the Confession of Faith ; they had even contemplated a Declaratory Act of their own, but had been advised that such an Act was beyond the Parliamentary powers of their Assembly. A clause in the Bill, which was passed without difficulty, gave them the right to deal with their formula of subscription. As for the small Church, her spokesmen deprecated the interference of Parliament. Even if they found themselves unable to use the property assigned to them, the question remained, whether it should be used at all. One enthusiast argued that it would be better to throw all the disputed property into the sea than to use it in supporting higher critics and lax theologians.

The United Free Assembly of 1905 declared its own legislative authority in the simplest terms ; but, in view of the opinions expressed by Lord Halsbury and his colleagues, it is not quite

certain what the legal effect of such a declaration will prove to be. Besides the material hardships which they had endured, Rainy and his friends had to reconsider some of their most cherished principles. They had done their best to construct and endow a religious body, wholly independent of the State. After sixty years of prosperity, the State, as represented by the Supreme Court of Appeal, had taken away all their property, and again, the State, as represented by the two Houses of Parliament, had given them back what statesmen regarded as their appropriate share of the property in dispute. Some time must elapse before the lesson of these events can be fully understood.

It is with some regret that I bring my narrative to a close at this point ; but the movements to be recorded since 1905, and especially the movement towards reunion among Presbyterians, are still in progress, and the annalist is unwilling to enter on important problems which are still under discussion.

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